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IN

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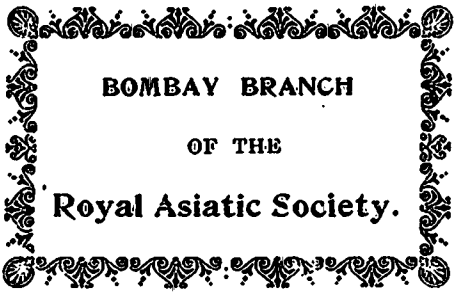

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INDIA
IN
1919

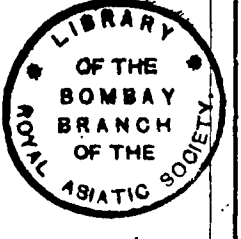
A Report prepared for presentation to Parliament in accordance with the requirements of the 26th Section of the Government of India Act (5 & 6 Geo. V., Chap. 61)

134267

BY

L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS

Fellow of All Souls ;
Officer on Special Duty in the Home Department
Government of India



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FOREWORD.

THE year 1919 opened full of promise for India, as for the rest of the Empire. The British Commonwealth had emerged victorious from the greatest war of history, and India was proudly conscious that she had contributed not little to the achievement of that triumph. Her own position in the Commonwealth was higher than it had ever been before ; the scheme of constitutional reform which was to put her upon the road to self-government was already in process of being translated from theory into practice. Plans for extensive commercial development seized upon the imagination of the educated and the moneyed classes, with the result that a great wave of industrial prosperity carried India on its crest to a level far higher than had ever been contemplated.

But as the year proceeded, the picture changed. The disastrous monsoon of 1918 began to produce its full effects in continued scarcity and steadily rising prices. The still unsatisfied political aspirations of the educated classes combined with the economic hardships borne by the poor, produced an atmosphere dangerous to the public peace. A spark ignited the train, and the result was the tragic explosion of March and April.

Nor was it only in domestic politics that storms suddenly gathered where calm had seemed to reign. The North-West Frontier, which during all the critical years of the war had remained so quiet, suddenly became a danger zone, at the very time when according to human calculation trouble might have been ruled out. Following upon the Afghan war came after-effects far more serious than the actual hostilities—a disturbed border which up to the moment of writing has not yet resumed its normal condition, and the nearer approach to India's frontier of the chaos which Bolshevism has brought to Central Asia.

Dark as in many respects has been its history, the year 1919 closed full of hope. Constitutional reforms on a generous scale have been sanctioned by Parliament. The gracious proclamation of His Majesty, with his message of sympathy for past unhappiness and of hope for future progress, acted at once as a stimulus to constructive constitutional activity, and as a call alike to his Indian and to his English subjects to co-operate whole-heartedly in fresh labours for India's welfare.

The country stands now on the threshold of a new era—an era which seems destined to witness her advance from the early difficulties and inevitable readjustment to a full realisation of her high destiny as an equal partner in the British Commonwealth.

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NOTE.

The conversion of rupees into sterling throughout this Report has been made in accordance with the statutory equation, which remained unmodified during the year under review, of Rs. 15=£ 1.

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India in 1919

CHAPTER I.

External Relations.

India and the Commonwealth.

Four years of warfare have produced a marked change in the relations between India and the rest of the British Commonwealth. As soon as the outbreak of hostilities was known a great wave of loyalty had swept over the country producing an enthusiastic rally to the cause of the Empire. The classes versed in politics realised, their community of interest and sentiment with their fellow-subjects in Great Britain and elsewhere. Of the depth of this feeling the unfaltering discharge by India of her war-obligations is the clearest demonstration. Nor was there lacking a reciprocal sentiment in return. As the magnitude of India's war effort became known, a generous recognition was evoked from the Mother Country and the Dominions, which was a cause of widespread pride to the educated classes in India, further strengthening in them the design, which they had for some time cherished, of asserting India's right to a place among the self-governing dominions of the Commonwealth. Responsible government within the Empire came to the front in political discussions as never before, affording a marked stimulus to constructive constitutional activities. Even more striking perhaps was the tacit change which came over the attitude of Government. Previous to this the aspirations of educated India had been regarded as something which so long as the existing régime continued, could find no adequate satisfaction. But with the general acknowledgment among the Allies of those ideals of liberty, freedom, and the rights of the peoples for which the sword had been taken up, thinking-men in England and in India turned with greater earnestness to the task of envisaging the final goal of British Rule in India. Their way was made more smooth by the fact that throughout the stress of war there was never any real demand among the politically-minded classes of India for the severance of the ties which bound them to Great Britain and to the rest of the Empire. There was, on the contrary, a demand that these ties should

The Change.

be strengthened in the most effective way, namely, by a recognition that India's position within the Empire ought to approximate as soon as possible to that enjoyed by the self-governing Dominions. The outcome of the deliberations between His Majesty's Government and the Government of India was the declaration of August the 20th, which with its announcement that the existing system of British rule was to be regarded as a prelude to the conferring of responsible government upon India, set the seal upon the new policy. Nor were practical signs wanting to bring home to India her changed status. The admission of representatives of the country to the Imperial War Conference side by side with representatives of self-governing Dominions gave great satisfaction; and this was further strengthened by the admission of Indian representatives among the Imperial delegates at the historic Peace Conference. The steadily awakening national pride of India was gratified to know that India was among the original signatories of the League of Nations; and with the ennoblement of a distinguished Indian, Sir S. P. Sinha, and his appointment as Under-Secretary of State for India, it became clear beyond the possibility of doubt that India's status had changed once and for all.

The Declaration of August 20th, 1917.

It was hardly to be expected that amidst the stress of external warfare and internal anxiety inseparable from the outbreak of the world-struggle, these considerations should have been appreciated at the true importance which they will certainly assume in the estimation of the historian of the future. Educated India has had its own grievances during the last few years; and the consideration of these grievances has tended to hide from the eyes of all but the far-sighted the immense strides which have been taken, within a short period, towards the satisfaction of India's national aspirations. Despite the generous acknowledgment by Great Britain and by the self-governing Dominions of the part which India had played in the war; despite the manifest intention of Government both in India and in England to proceed with the maximum possible speed to the enunciation of outstanding constitutional reforms, educated Indian opinion, but newly conscious of the stature of manhood, remained throughout the period under review impatient, resentful of inevitable delay and suspicious that at any moment the clock might be set back to pre-war conditions. To this feeling, it must be admitted, some unfortunate incidents of the period under review have unquestionably contributed. We shall have occasion in another chapter to relate briefly the history of the lamentable disorders in the Punjab and elsewhere. It is sufficient in this place to say that these disorders served not merely to exacerbate feeling between educated India and the existing British administration

The Change not fully realised.

of the country, but also to divert attention from the progress of the past and the promise of the future, to a painful and profitless dwelling upon the misfortunes of the present.

It must, however, be realised that in the course of the year 1919, India has had some justification for imagining that her progress towards the status within the Commonwealth which she regards as her due has been less real than is actually the case.

Indian Settlers Abroad.

It is unfortunate that during this period at a time when the aspirations of India towards future self-government within the British Commonwealth seemed in a fair way towards realisation, the question of the treatment of Indian settlers in various parts of the Empire came very much to the fore. In South Africa the trouble began early in the year with an injunction obtained by the Krugersdorp Municipal Council restraining a European firm from permitting Indians to reside in or to occupy certain stands in the township of Krugersdorp. In consequence, questions were asked in the legislature, a petition was received from Indian residents, and a committee of enquiry was appointed. The upshot of this enquiry was a Bill passed in June 1919, which on the one hand gave Statutory protection to existing rights to trade in gold areas held by Indians on the 1st May, 1919, and on the other hand, specifically extended to

South Africa.

Asiatic-controlled companies the provisions of the Boer Law III of 1885, prohibiting the acquisition of property by Asiatics. This Act was regarded as a departure from the spirit of the agreement arrived at in 1914 between

Resentment in India.

General Smuts and Mr. Gandhi, in accordance with which the Union Government undertook to administer existing acts justly and with due regard to vested rights. The future of the Indian commercial community in South Africa may be seriously affected. Those persons who are confirmed in their existing privileges and seem for ever secured from competition, have ample reason to congratulate themselves. But opinion in India is not inclined to value this consideration very highly ; nor can it be expected to allow due weight to the views of those who hold that the Asiatic trade element constitutes a threat to the economic future of South Africa. The sudden re-opening of the whole question has caused a profound and most painful impression in this country. Accordingly the South African Government has proposed shortly to appoint a Commission to enquire into the question of Asiatics trading and holding lands in the several provinces of South Africa. The Government of India have deputed Sir Benjamin Robertson, an officer with personal experience of South African affairs, to assist the Commission in its enquiry and to press for a sympathetic consideration of the Indian case.

East Africa.

In East Africa also, affairs are taking an unfortunate turn. Resolutions have recently been passed by the European colonists, suggesting that the presence of the Indian is antagonistic to the best interests of the African native, and urging a policy of restricting Indian immigration. The resident Indian population who have been long established and possess substantial interests, are naturally resentful. They sent a deputation to the Government of India in the early part of the year, to present a memorial setting forth the possibilities and difficulties of Indians in the Protectorate. Fortunately, as has already been declared in the House of Commons, the resolutions passed by the European colonists cannot be regarded as representing the views of the Government of East Africa, still less of the Imperial Government, with whom the final decision will lie. British East Africa is not a self-governing dominion, and the position which the Government of India have taken in the matter is that there is no justification in a Crown colony or a protectorate for assigning to British Indians a status in any way inferior to that of any other class of His Majesty's subjects resident in the colony. The Government of India have pressed upon His Majesty's Government not only that the disabilities of Indians in East Africa should be removed, but also that their claims to a share in the government of the country, by adequate representation on the Legislative Council and on local bodies, should be sympathetically considered. Since this representation was made, two Indians nominated by Government have been appointed to the Legislative Council of the colony. But it is regarded as very important that the representation of the Indian community should be secured by elected members. The Government of India have asked the Secretary of State to see that Indian interests are fully represented at a forthcoming discussion in London between Lord Milner and the Governor of East Africa.

Uganda.

In Uganda also the policy of the Government in insisting on the erection of local gins in order to prevent the admixture of cotton seed, has adversely affected some Indian gin-owners. The Government of India have protested strongly more than once against these restrictions, and it has been suggested that Sir Benjamin Robertson on his way back from South Africa should visit Uganda to discuss matters with the Uganda Government.

Compensating Factors.

Fortunately, however, there is another aspect of the situation. While the position of Indians has become a matter of acute difficulty in South and East Africa, it is gratifying to note that there is a more generous recognition in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand of the fact that Indians as fellow citizens of the Empire are entitled to considerate and equitable

treatment. The Governments of these parts of the British Empire have intimated their formal acceptance of the resolution, passed at the Imperial War Conference of 1918, regarding the reciprocity of treatment between India and the Dominions. The principles enunciated by the resolution were that while each country within the British Commonwealth has an inherent right of controlling the composition of its own population, British citizens domiciled in any British country, including India, should be admitted into any other country for temporary visits, and that Indians already permanently domiciled should be allowed to bring in their wives and minor children provided that the recognition of polygamy is not involved.

As will readily be seen, the question of the status of Indian settlers abroad is closely allied to the whole subject of labour emigration.

Emigration.

During the period under review there has been no change in the attitude of the Indian public in regard to labour emigration to distant parts of the British Commonwealth. Such emigration is still opposed mainly on the grounds that recruitment can never be rendered free from abuse and that the environment in which the labourer has to live in a colony does not conduce to his moral well-being. In view of this attitude the Government of India have not considered it justifiable to re-open emigration, although the Governments of Fiji and British Guiana are prepared to accept the scheme of assisted emigration formulated by the Inter-departmental Conference held in London in 1917. The need for Indian labour has made itself felt so acutely in these colonies, that each has sent out an unofficial mission to India with the object of making emigration under a well regulated scheme acceptable to the Indian public. Government has made it clear that the question is one which must be settled by Indian opinion; accordingly the missions have been ventilating the subject with the thinking-men of India and with the leaders of public opinion. Shortly after the close of the period under review, a resolution was accepted by the Indian Legislative Council appointing a committee to meet the deputations and to make recommendations to Government regarding their proposals. For some time past, a good deal of attention has been directed both by the public and by Government to the conditions under which Indian labourers live in Fiji. The unsatisfactory nature of these conditions induced the acceptance of a resolution of the Indian Legislative Council in September for negotiations for the release of labourers from their indentures. As a result of these negotiations, the Government of Fiji have issued orders cancelling all the indentures of East Indian labourers with effect from the 2nd January, 1920. They have also undertaken to carry out certain housing and hospital reforms which are eminently necessary; and to

British Guiana and Fiji.

introduce measures providing for representation on an elective basis of the Indian community in the Legislative Council of Fiji. Arrangements have also been made for the early repatriation of time-expired labourers who desire to return from Fiji.

Frontier Relations.

Turning now from a consideration of India's relation with the rest of the Empire to her dealings with foreign powers upon her border, we find that the year 1919 has been full alike of anxiety and incidents. With the termination of hostilities, it might naturally be supposed that the menace to India's North-West Frontier, of which mention was made in last year's review, would disappear. But in point of fact the very completeness of Germany's collapse hindered the restoration of order in those regions of Central Asia which had been disturbed by her pioneers of intrigue and her agents of disintegration. The subsidence of Russia into anarchy had opened a door for Germany which led up to the very confines of India; and although through her defeat on the Western Front she was unable herself to find entrance, the door none-the-less remained open to the approach of others. To the menace of German arms there succeeded the more formidable menace of Bolshevik ideas. The sinister creed which Germany attempted to exploit for her own ends in Europe, the creed which by a natural revenge placed the seal upon her fate, found in the soil of Central Asia a fruitful breeding ground. The shattering of ancient ideals, the terrible economic sufferings of the last year of the war, the collapse of the great Russian administrative system, all combined to favour the spread of Bolshevism. Despite the resistance of the anti-Bolshevik military forces and the reputed detestation of Bolshevism by all classes of the population, during 1919 the Bolsheviks consolidated their position in Russain Turkistan and remained masters of the situation. Early in 1918, as is well known, they had forced the conservative Amir of Bokhara into a show of submission by massing overwhelming forces on his borders. Up to the moment of writing however, he still retains his independence; so it may be doubted whether his submission was anything more than nominal. In Ferghana, the Bolsheviks have brought strong pressure to bear on the Mussulman population to enlist in their army. But their headquarters and centre for propaganda distribution still remains at Tashkent. Here they have opened schools for training propagandists whose activities they hope will result in the dissemination of Bolshevik ideas through Persia, Afghanistan, India, and the East generally. The large quantities of Bolshevik notes which made their way to India were an ominous sign, and the administration took vigorous and successful measures to prohibit their circulation. The menace to India has been rendered more real by the Bolshevik military success in Siberia and by

Bolshevism.

Central Asia.

the opening of traffic on the Orenburg-Tashkend railway, which resulted in the reinforcement of Bolshevik forces in Turkistan. It thus happened that towards the end of the year under review, their forces were able to make a great effort to capture Krasnovodsk.

Afghanistan.

The natural obstacles to the advance of Bolshevik troops through the inter-lying regions are so formidable that had the condition of affairs in Afghanistan remained the same as those outlined in last year's report, the military successes of Bolshevism might have been viewed with something akin to indifference. So long as Amir Habibullah lived, India knew that she had on her borders a friendly state intensely jealous of foreign intervention, which would oppose the whole of its formidable resources in the way of an advance on India through its territories. The pledge of friendly neutrality which Amir Habibullah had given to the Indian Government at the commencement of the war was scrupulously observed by him, notwithstanding strong pressure which was brought to bear in the opposite direction first by various German missions in Kabul and secondly through emissaries of the Russian Bolsheviks. His task had been no easy one, and Lord Chelmsford in 1918 had summed up the situation in the following words :—

Amir Habibullah.

> "In Afghanistan, as in India, there are many ignorant people, credulous people, fanatical people, such as at a time of world excitement may be carried away by any wind of vain doctrine. Such persons may at any moment become a serious embarrassment to wise and level-headed statesmanship. One of our first thoughts therefore at this time must be how we can best assist the Amir of Afghanistan, who has in the interests of his country which he loves, and in accordance with the pledges which he has given, kept his ship on a straight course of neutrality between the reefs that have so often surrounded him. We can, I believe, best do so by showing our enemies first that India stands solid as rock and that the lambent flame of anarchical intrigue will find nothing inflammable in this country—nay rather, will be smothered and extinguished forthwith, should it approach, by the dead weight of our unity of purpose; second, that should ever our enemy have the hardihood to bring force in the direction of our borders, we are ready with munitions and men to fulfil our obligations to the Amir of Afghanistan by assisting him in repelling foreign aggression and further to guard our own with the whole man-power and resources of India behind us."

Murder of Amir Habibullah.

Until the occurrence of the lamentable death of the Amir Habibullah, the political atmosphere in Afghanistan remained comparatively calm. But on the 20th of February 1919, the great ruler was murdered while in camp near Jelalabad. Remarkable though it may seem in an Eastern country where the most jealously guarded secrets have a habit of leaking out, up to the time of writing mystery still surrounds both the motives and the authors of the murder. It has been plausibly assigned to a faction animated by ambition; although perhaps it may have been the long-delayed consummation of a German intrigue which hung fire. However this may be, its consequences were profound. On the death of Habibullah the usual struggle for the throne occurred. The late Amir's eldest son, Inayatullah, waived his claim in favour of his uncle, Nasrullah Khan. Nasrullah, brother of the last Amir, was beloved by the religious leaders who exercise so much influence over the Afghan tribesmen, and was accepted as Amir in an open durbar at Jelalabad. But the late Amir's two younger sons, Hayat and Amanullah, who were at Kabul, were not disposed to submit. They agitated for the discovery of their father's murderer. Amanullah, who was in command of Kabul, found himself supported by the army. He also controlled the treasury and the arsenal. Since his power was concentrated, while that of Nasrullah was diffused, he was able to win over the Jelalabad troops and to spread rumours of Nasrullah's own complicity in the murder. The agitation culminated in the arrest by the Amir of several members of the powerful Musahib family, comprising some of the most influential personages in Afghanistan. Nasrullah shortly afterwards found his position impossible and he abdicated in favour of Amanullah. The new Amir lost no time in acquainting the Government of India with his accession. His letter, while referring to the long-standing friendship between Great Britain and Afghanistan, was marked by a change of tone and contained hints of a claim to independence in the conduct of foreign affairs, which was not consistent with the political position which during the reign of his two predecessors had been occupied by Afghanistan in relation to the Indian Government.

Disputed Succession.

Amir Amanullah.

He began his reign by instituting various reforms, such as the appointment of ministers in charge of state departments, and the abolition of forced labour and conscription. But supposing even that he had been willing to accept the position as he found it, the difficulties which he experienced shortly became overwhelming. Of recent years, there has always been a war party in Afghanistan, impatient of friendly relations with India, whose members have seriously embarrassed from time to time rulers of such

His Difficulties.

strength as Abdur Rahman and Habibullah. The young Amir Amanullah, since he owed his throne to the army, was particularly susceptible to the influence of this party. He had in addition to make head against powerful opposing factions. It was above all things necessary to settle in satisfactory manner the guilt of his father's murder. On the 13th April he held a trial in public durbar, at which the Musahib family were honourably acquitted. The actual guilt of the crime was laid upon a scape-goat who was immediately executed, but Nasrullah and Inayatullah were sentenced to indefinite confinement. This, however, did not satisfy public opinion, which believed that the really guilty parties had been allowed to escape. The army in particular was incensed at the acquittal and glorification of the Musahib family. Dissatisfaction smouldered, and the unrest attained such a pitch that it became necessary to remove the troops from Kabul and to give them occupation to divert their thoughts. The religious leaders were alienated by the treatment meted out to Nasrullah; and the Amir's difficulties increased on every hand. What he would have done but for the influence exerted upon him by contemporary events in India, it is difficult to conjecture. But just at the time when his difficulties seemed insuperable, the Rowlatt agitation in India culminated in the Punjab disturbances. Afghan agents in India, of whom Ghulam Hyder Khan, the Afghan post-master at Peshawar, was the energetic head, flooded Afghanistan with exaggerated accounts of Indian unrest. It was represented that owing to legislation which was inimical alike to the Hindu and the Muslim creeds, there would be a general revolt against the British as soon as the Afghan troops crossed the frontier. The Rowlatt Act — of which mention will be made hereafter—was commonly misrepresented in Afghanistan as imposing intolerable restrictions upon Mussulmans and upon the public worship of the people of India. The unusual phenomenon of a strong agitation against this Act in Peshawar probably strengthened the Amir's delusion. The Punjab outbreaks were magnified by rumours until they assumed the proportions of a general rising against British rule; and our own official declaration that certain districts of the Punjab were in a state of rebellion seemed to confirm this view. The result of all this was not only to strengthen the hands of the war party but to convince the Amir that the real solution of his difficulties lay in making use of this Heaven-sent opportunity to relieve the internal crisis. He imagined that he could divert the attention of his people from their domestic affairs by embarking upon a war with India. Realising neither the overwhelming strength of Great Britain nor the finality of Germany's defeat, he probably counted upon Bolshevik assistance. By the 25th of April he had set his troops in motion and simultaneously

The Indian situation.

The Amir's opportunity.

a stream of anti-British propaganda commenced to flow from Kabul and open intrigue was started with the Frontier tribes.

The Amir's Aggression in the Khyber.

On the 3rd May an Afghan force under Zar Shah, attempted to provoke hostilities with the Khyber Rifles on the Khyber border. Zar Shah represented his force as merely an advanced guard, and displayed a proclamation by the Amir which protested strongly against the cruelty and injustice of the British in India. At the same time the Afghan commander-in-chief, who had reached Dakka, openly talked of a Holy War. An opportunity was given to the new Amir to disavow Zar Shah and his proclamation, but instead of doing so he sent a somewhat impudent reply, received on the 17th May, virtually admitting the authorship of the proclamation and demanding removal of the tyrannical laws which he said had been imposed on India.

The Khyber Front.

Meantime various acts of aggression took place on the Khyber border, culminating on the 5th May in the capture of the Bagh Springs and the heights which commanded Landikotal by three regiments with two guns. Simultaneously with the first Afghan attacks, Ghulam Haidar Khan tried to raise trouble in Peshawar. But he and his myrmidons were rounded up and deported, and the movement collapsed.

Modern Method in Frontier Warfare.

The general Afghan plan of campaign seems to have been to move small columns of Afghan regular troops up to our frontier, and then to raise the tribes within our border against us. Emissaries and agents were sent into the tribal country and munitions were given to all who were ready to join in. The Amir plainly hoped much from the border tribes, but the results of his incitements at first fell very short of his expectations, and did not, in fact, materialise until too late to be of use to him. As soon as hostilities broke out, it became apparent that aeroplanes, wireless, and high explosives were revolutionising frontier warfare in a manner most disconcerting to the Afghan troops. Against the regular army of the Amir, aeroplanes proved particularly effective, and their operations were markedly successful both from the material and from the moral points of view. Enemy concentrations and military objectives in important places, such as Jelalabad and Kabul, were bombed.

The rapid mobilisation of the Army in India took the Afghans by surprise. In ten days the Afghans had not only been severely defeated and ejected from British territory in the Khyber, but had seen their advanced base at Dakka occupied, and their commander-in-chief wounded. That officer asked for a cessation of hostilities on May the 14th, but the message was impertinent, and the answer was returned that if Amir Amanullah wanted peace, he must ask for it himself.

Further South, however, matters went better for the Amir. On the 21st of May, the Afghan General, Nadir Khan, arrived at Matun, the capital of Khost, and considerable unrest followed among the Wazirs and Mahsuds. On the 24th May, a combined advance of Afghan regulars and tribal levies commenced towards our border, and in order to concentrate our available forces in the Upper Tochi, it was decided to evacuate all the militia posts in advance of Miranshah. The evacuation of the posts in South Waziristan also became necessary. This action though inevitable had a most unfortunate effect. It was the signal for the Mahsuds and Wazirs to rise and to commence active inroads into the Zhob agency and the British districts bordering on Waziristan. At the same time, a small Afghan detachment entered Wana. Nadir Khan's next effort was directed against Thal, where he appeared on the 27th May. He occupied the hills West and South of the place and started shelling it. Reinforcements were at once moved up from Kohat, and on the 1st of June, after a most trying march in excessive heat a column approached Thal and found the enemy in position on the hills commanding the road from the South. Our troops immediately came into action and the attack was completely successful. The hills were cleared, and the enemy was driven back across the Kurram river. Next day the Afghan positions on the heights north of Thal were assaulted with similar success and the enemy was again forced to retreat leaving behind him a considerable quantity of ammunition and other stores.

Affairs in Waziristan.

Action near Thal.

The success of Nadir Khan's efforts in the central region was too short lived to affect our operations on the Northern and Southern fronts. We have already seen that in the Khyber the Afghan efforts had resulted in severe defeats. In the Southern area, it was decided to capture and occupy the Afghan fort of Spin Baldak, 6½ miles across the frontier, which constituted a potential threat to our railhead at Chaman. On the morning of the 27th May, the fort was attacked after careful preliminary preparations were made. The effect of our howitzer batteries and high explosive shells was decisive; for of the garrison of 600 strong, 30 escaped and 169 were taken prisoners. The rest were either killed or had perished in the ruins. The assault was conducted by our troops with conspicuous gallantry, and the moral effect of capturing this fort, reputed to be the strongest in Afghanistan, was great. By the 2nd of June the Afghans had suffered a series of severe defeats up and down the front, and there was no question that they were weary of a game so one-sided. But the Amir, although he must have been convinced before the end of May that victory was impossible, hoped against hope that he might be

Affairs in the South.

Storm of Spin Baldak.

able to avoid defeat. The restlessness which he had introduced in the border tribes might, he trusted, be sufficient to off-set in some measure the disconcerting effect of his defeats in the field. On May the 28th fresh overtures of peace were received. Amir Amanullah wrote a letter in which, though he laid the blame for recent hostilities upon the British, he made sufficient concession to the facts of the situation to ask for terms. He enclosed a copy of his order commanding his Generals to cease hostilities. The Viceroy's reply contained a specific recital of the various acts of hostility committed by the Afghans prior to any action on the part of the British, but the Government of India agreed to the Amir's request for a joint conference to conclude peace, provided that certain terms were complied with. The Afghan troops were to be withdrawn first from the frontier, and secondly for a space, of twenty miles from the nearest British force. Urgent messages must be despatched to the tribes cancelling the orders exciting them to hostilities against us and announcing the Amir's request for a cessation of warfare. Our aeroplanes were allowed to reconnoitre the Afghan territory without being fired at by Afghan troops. But although the Amir had entirely suspended all military operations, he did not accept these terms immediately. On June the 18th a somewhat evasive reply was received, which continued to manifest a desire for peace, but took exception to some of the suggested armistice conditions. Since it was apparent that Amanullah was doing what he could to comply with these terms, he was told that if he would accept them broadly, arrangements would be made to receive Afghan envoys in Rawalpindi. On June the 29th he wrote again, dwelling upon what he termed the one-sided character of the armistice conditions, and pointing out some very practical difficulties in the way of their literal observance. He emphasised the fact that he had suspended all military operations and reiterated the steps he had taken as earnest of his desire for peace. Lord Chelmsford's reply emphasised the real character of the situation; the Afghans began the war and the Afghans now sued for peace. The terms were naturally one-sided. But the Afghans were directed to present themselves in the British lines towards the end of July.

Overtures of Peace.

Terms of the Armistice.

Negotiations continue.

On the 26th July the conference met at Rawalpindi, the chief of the British delegation being Sir Hamilton Grant. Finally, on the 8th of August, a treaty of peace was signed which ran as follows :—

ARTICLE 1.

From the date of the signing of this Treaty there shall be peace between the British Government, on the one part, and the Government of Afghanistan on the other.

ARTICLE 2.

In view of the circumstances which have brought about the present war between the British Government and the Government of Afghanistan, the British Government, to mark their displeasure, withdraw the privilege enjoyed by former Amirs of importing arms, ammunition or warlike munitions through India to Afghanistan.

ARTICLE 3.

The arrears of the late Amir's subsidy are furthermore confiscated, and no subsidy is granted to the present Amir.

ARTICLE 4.

At the same time, the British Government are desirous of the re-establishment of the old friendship that has so long existed between Afghanistan and Great Britain, provided they have guarantees that the Afghan Government are, on their part, sincerely anxious to regain the friendship of the British Government. The British Government are prepared, therefore, provided the Afghan Government prove this by their acts and conduct, to receive another Afghan mission after six months for the discussion and settlement of matters of common interests to the two Governments and the re-establishment of the old friendship on a satisfactory basis.

ARTICLE 5.

The Afghan Government accept the Indo-Afghan frontier accepted by the late Amir. They further agree to the early demarcation by a British Commission of the undemarcated portion of the line West of the Khyber, where the recent Afghan aggression took place, and to accept such boundary as the British Commission may lay down. The British troops on this side will remain in their present positions until such demarcation has been effected.

Afghan Foreign Relations.

At the same time the Afghan delegates were given a letter which officially recognised the freedom of Afghan foreign relations from British control. The changes brought about in the Middle East by the war had made it difficult for Great Britain to advise Afghanistan regarding her external affairs, unless such advice was desired. It was therefore thought better to terminate an agreement which had not in effect been very scrupulously observed even by the Amir's predecessors. It may be noticed here that the outcry which was raised by certain sections of the British press in regard to the abandonment of an illusory control, did not commend itself to the press of India, which with remarkable unanimity

Attitude of the Press.

through all its varied sections, commended the policy of facing facts as they are. As was subsequently pointed out by Sir Hamilton Grant, the British Government would probably have been willing to acknowledge the cessation of the convention which formerly existed, had Amanullah asked for it in a temperate manner. Further, although Amanullah afterwards pretended that he had gone to war to gain his independence, this was not the case, and the Government of India had already before the war mooted the advantages of this concession.

Effects of the Afghan War.

The effect of the outbreak of war with Afghanistan cannot be measured entirely in terms of the resultant hostilities, which on the whole may fairly be considered insignificant. It had two important consequences, both of greater moment than anything arising in its actual course. In the first place, allegations of incompetency in medical and transport arrangements were brought against the Government of India at a time when that Government was passing through a period of great difficulty and acrid criticism; and in the second place, it left as its heritage a disturbed border which up to the moment of writing shows little signs of settling down into its pre-war condition.

Allegations of Mismanagement.

It is only possible to deal very briefly with the allegations of breakdown. The documents relevant to this matter have been published in the form of a Parliamentary Paper. It must now be plain that the shortcomings of the authorities have been exaggerated. That deficiencies, in some cases of a serious character, did exist at first, is obvious; but that they were removed with the utmost speed is equally undeniable. On a careful examination of the evidence, it seems difficult to justify the accusation that another "Mesopotamian muddle" was perpetrated by Army Headquarters. It must be remembered that the Indian military establishment was not in that condition of complete preparedness for border hostilities which might reasonably have been demanded either before the Great War or while that war was actually in progress, owing to the fact that the outbreak of hostilities with Afghanistan took place at the very moment when they could least have been anticipated; and when the risk of such an occurrence could certainly never have been used as a counter-argument to urgent demobilisation orders from Great Britain. The extraordinary speed with which the campaign was commenced and concluded, entailing, as it did, the movement of masses of men with unprecedented rapidity, the task of providing transport and medical equipment for a force of some quarter of a million, were both rendered exceptionally difficult through the depletion of India's railways and of her military and medical resources. Considering the terrible climatic conditions of campaigning in a temperature ranging from 114° to 119°, the casualties from

sickness were below what might have been anticipated. The reports current first in India, and afterwards in England, were grievously exaggerated; but since sufficient care was not taken in the early days of the war to make plain the true situation, an outcry arose in the press for which the facts, as afterwards ascertained, do not provide substantial justification. Leaving aside individual instances of hardship, upon which it seems plain that many of the exaggerated accounts were based, it is found that in the case of the troops operating on the frontier, under the most adverse climatic conditions, the normal loss by evacuation on account of sickness worked out at 2·8 for British and 1·3 for Indian troops and followers per mille. Considering that the normal loss under this head in a force engaged in active operations in the temperate climate of Europe is accepted by all military authorities as averaging 3 per mille per day, the figures for the Afghan campaign cannot be considered excessive. But whatever justification there may have been for the character of the press comments upon the conduct of the Afghan war, there is no doubt that these comments very seriously affected the reputation of the Indian Government both in Great Britain and in India. The full consequences of this will be indicated in another chapter.

Press Comments.

Turning now to the second of the more important consequences of the war, namely its effect upon the frontier, we see in the first place that there has been a complete breakdown under the stress of hostile conditions of certain institutions which in peace time performed good service. For example, the small isolated frontier posts which in normal times are so useful for restraining raids and keeping the border quiet, presented in war time a most difficult problem. At the commencement of hostilities they were unable to hold out for any length of time, and so it became a question either of withdrawing them, or of sending a comparatively large force to relieve them. The latter course is generally so unsound from the military point of view, that withdrawal is the only solution. The disturbing effect of this on the independent tribes can with difficulty be overestimated. In the second place, the institution of tribal levies, which during peace time performed several functions of great utility, has proved in war time equally dangerous. These levies offer to the younger and the more adventurous members of our border tribes a career which distracts their thoughts from plunder and raid. Some such alternative is essential, if plunder and raid are not to continue, owing to the fact that the sterile nature of their country makes it economically impossible for the population to support itself by remaining quiet within tribal boundaries. Further,

A Legacy of Trouble.

Levy Posts.

Tribal Levies.

these tribal levies, composed as they are of born fighters, drilled and disciplined by British officers, exercise in peace conditions a healthy and restraining influence upon the raiding propensities of their fellows. With the outbreak of hostilities these levies either had to be disbanded or in the alternative deserted in large numbers to the enemy ; the consequence in either case being to reinforce the tribal armies with men trained in the British system of discipline and fully accustomed to the use of arms of precision.

What happened in Baluchistan.

The joint effect of the breakdown of such useful peace institutions as those to which reference has been made, may be observed by considering the history of Baluchistan during the period under review. When hostilities with Afghanistan broke out so unexpectedly in May, the whole of Baluchistan appeared tranquil and friendly. The tribes along the frontier were expected to rise but beyond that there was no hint of really serious trouble. On the 21st of May, with the news of the probable withdrawal of the Militia garrisons in the North-West Frontier Province at Wana and other places, came the first breath of danger. Although our Baluchistan forces concentrated at Chaman, assaulted and captured the Afghan fort of Spin Baldak, the situation in the Zhob district which was caused by the withdrawal from Wana, was a source of acute anxiety to the Administration. On the 28th May, the broken and demoralised fragments of the South Waziristan Militia straggled in to the Zhob district pursued by hordes of Wazirs and Mahsuds. This disorder reacted on the Zhob Militia and three of the outposts held by them were evacuated. Almost immediately Militia men deserted in large numbers, and the important Sherani tribe, led by their Scouts, broke into open rebellion. In consequence, Fort Sandeman, which is separated from its base of supply at Loralai by a long and vulnerable stretch of road was isolated for a time. The Sheranis assisted by the Wazirs and Mahsuds embarked on a brief career of incendiarism and plunder. Fort Sandeman bazaar was partially burnt and looted, public buildings were destroyed and convoys attacked, occasionally with considerable success. The whole trouble arose from the incursion into the Zhob district of the Wazirs and Mahsuds who were following upon the track of the forces withdrawing from Wana. Had it not been for the unlooked for collapse of our power, the Zhob tribes would probably have remained firm in their allegiance. The administration of Baluchistan had hard work to keep the Loralai district free from trouble, for had the area in which chaos ruled extended to the rich Quetta district, the Sibi district, and the main roads and railways of the province, a serious situation would have arisen. But by August when peace was signed with Afghanistan, the fire had burnt itself out, and it was possible

to effect a settlement with our tribes. But in the course of the last summer, our administrative system was severely shaken. In Zhob the structure of peace and order which had been built up so carefully in 40 years, collapsed in as many days. Time, patience, and a fearless grappling with new problems will be necessary before the building can be restored.

Border Disturbances.

The heritage of the disturbed border, to which reference has already been made, continued throughout the period under review. The Afridis, the most powerful of all the tribes on the North-West Frontier, remained fairly quiet throughout the course of actual hostilities ; but later it was necessary to undertake punitive measures against the leading malcontent and to destroy his fort at Chora. This had a healthy effect in subduing the rebellious tendency of the tribes. But the misbehaviour of the Mahsuds and the Wazirs, to which reference was made in a preceding paragraph, later culminated in open hostilities. Their country lies within the belt bounded by the Durand line and Afghan frontier on the west, and by the districts of Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan on the east. Among them, the Afghan emissaries had been particularly active, and as they can put into the field some 30,000 warriors, of whom about 75 per cent. are now armed with modern weapons of precision, they are formidable adversaries.

Mahsud and Wazir Raids.

Thoroughly excited by the outbreak of hostilities between Great Britain and Afghanistan, they refused to make peace even if the Afghans had done so. Throughout the last three weeks of August, and right into September, the Mahsuds and Wazirs continued their raids into our territory. Insecurity of life and property in the Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan districts finally became such as to make the position intolerable ; and by the beginning of October it was clear that punitive measures must be taken to win security for our harassed borders. Accordingly, tribal Councils of the Wazirs and Mahsuds were summoned, to demand reparation for the damage they had done. We announced at the same time our intention of making roads and locating troops in certain parts of their territory. They were informed that if they refused to accept our terms they would, after being given time to remove their women and children, be subjected to an intensive bombardment from the air.

Punitive Measures.

As they refused our terms, the aerial bombardment began ; but since they still proved recalcitrant, a column advanced as far as Datakhel. The Tochi Wazirs against whom we had moved, promptly accepted our terms. Our troops were then transferred South, with Jandola as their base for operations. On December the 18th our advance began, and it was marked from the start by heavy fighting. Considerable casualties occurred on both sides, the

tribes going far to play our game by putting up their stoutest resistance at points comparatively close to our base. We fought steadily on to Mandana Kach and there consolidated our position. Fighting continued up to and including December the 22nd and the tribes entirely failed to stop our advance. A tribal Council was held in which the leaders of the Mahsuds and Wazirs accepted our terms, but unfortunately they have since proved quite unable to restrain the younger members of their tribes, and at the moment of writing, operations are still continuing. The unexpectedly obstinate resistance of the Mahsuds and Wazirs must be ascribed not merely to the earlier efforts which Afghan emissaries had made with a view to stirring them up against us, but also to their obvious expectations, despite the peace which the Afghans had signed on August the 8th, that Afghan forces would be despatched to their assistance. Needless to say such has not been the case; and the disappointment of the hopes of the tribesmen is likely before long to induce even the recalcitrant to accept our terms. Indirectly this hope has been of considerable advantage to ourselves; for never before have we succeeded in inflicting upon them casualties of such magnitude. It is earnestly to be trusted that with the conclusion of the present hostilities, these stubborn elements of our border condition will have learnt these lessons, and be prepared to resign themselves to the inevitable process of civilisation.

Continued Hostilities.

It need hardly be pointed out that our future policy in regard to the border tribes has now become a subject of earnest examination on the part of the authorities in India. It is plain that the old régime of levy posts and tribal militia, backed up by heavy subsidies to border tribes, must now come to an end. This is inevitable not merely through the failure of these expedients in time of war, but through a change which has been brought about in the general position of the border as a consequence of the world-war. To take but a single example, Baluchistan itself does not stand as it did in old days, isolated, concerned with its own provincial problems sufficient in itself. This Muhammadan province, situated as it is midway between India and the Middle East, has a position of great political importance thrust upon it in view of the profound changes which are coming over Persia and Afghanistan. The people of the province no longer ignorant, and blind as formerly, are fully alive to the large issues at stake, and realise now that their own interests are closely bound up with the solution of many questions of world politics. Not only in regard to Baluchistan, but also in regard to the whole vulnerable stretch of the Northern and Western Frontier of India, a change in the policy we have previously pursued seems inevitable. That we must for

Border Policy.

Changed Conditions.

some time continue to keep large forces to protect this border, is too obvious to need assertion. But it seems also clear that in order that this force may be effective, we must be prepared to spend money in unprecedented quantities upon improving the frontier roads and extending our railways. As has been frequently pointed out by those familiar with the border, the essence of maintaining tranquillity is to strike quickly and sternly at the first trace of impending trouble. That this may be done entails the construction of improved means of communication and the provision of an army fully equipped to take advantage of them. Serious as may be the burden upon India's resources of a considerable force equipped in the most modern appliances of warfare, no one who is familiar with the general conditions of India can doubt that the maintenance of such a force is essential. When the country is about to embark upon her first substantial step towards the realisation of responsible government, it is above all things necessary that she should not be distracted by the horrors of invasion from the North-West. At the present moment, there is a tendency on the part of educated India to treat the defence of India and particularly the defence of the North-West Frontier, as being rather a matter for the British administration than for the Indian people. As to the reason for this attitude, it would be easy to hazard an explanation; but the fact remains that unless this attitude be modified—a change which can only come through riper experience and greater opportunities for appreciating the military facts of the Central Asian situation—there is some danger lest Indian administrators, when they find themselves in power, should be inclined to under-estimate the necessity of safeguarding adequately the gates of India.

Military Requirements.

As a consequence of the progress in military science and army organisation resulting from experience acquired in the great war, there has been throughout the period under review a generally expressed desire for a thorough overhauling of the Indian military machine. The early breakdown in Mesopotamia, combined with short-comings, revealed in recent Frontier hostilities, made it inevitable that such a desire should find satisfaction. And with the termination of the war against the Central Powers and the consequent demobilisation of British forces in India, it became a matter of great urgency to determine the nature and the composition of the *post-bellum* forces which must be maintained for the defence of the country. Accordingly, towards the end of the year under review, a strong Committee under the presidency of Lord Esher was appointed, with wide terms of reference to enquire into the Indian military system. These terms include a general investigation into the administration and organisation of the army in India, with special reference to *post-bellum* conditions; a consideration of the position of the

Army Reform.

Commander-in-Chief in his dual capacity as head of the army and member of the Viceroy's Executive Council; and an enquiry into any other matters which members of the Committee may deem relevant to their work. The members of this Committee are distinguished soldiers and civilians, with a natural preponderance of the former element. There are also two Indians, Sir Krishna Gupta, a former member of the Council of India, and Major Sir Umar Hayat Khan, a gallant chieftain with great experience of warfare both in Europe and in India. Much is hoped from their deliberations from the purely technical point of view, but not least among the problems which face them is that of making the Indian Army a national army in the truest sense of the term—an organisation in which the people of India take pride, with which they are in the fullest sympathy, in which they feel they have a weapon that it behoves them to maintain bright and stainless for the defence of their country and for the discharge of their responsibilities in the Commonwealth of Nations.

CHAPTER II.

Internal Politics.

At the beginning of the period under review the internal politics of India presented a most interesting spectacle. The war has accomplished much towards the unification along certain broad lines of bodies standing for Indian political aspirations, but it has also been responsible for the growth of well-marked political parties. Mention was made in last year's report of the differences which had grown up between the Moderate, or National Liberal Party, and the Extremist, or the Nationalist party, in the matter of their respective reception of the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme. While it will be unnecessary to repeat what was said in last year's review as to the character of this reception, it may briefly be stated that, while the Moderates desired to expand the scheme in certain essential parts, they were satisfied that it would constitute a basis for future political progress. On the other hand, the extreme nationalists disliked the whole scheme, and regarded it as fundamentally disappointing and unsatisfactory. At the beginning of the year 1919, the changed conditions which arose from the cessation of hostilities with Germany, produced a marked effect in the attitude of both political parties. The period of stress was over; it could no longer endanger the safety of India to criticise Government. Accordingly, in the early months of the year there was noticeable throughout the Indian press a tendency to attack the Administration with much greater vigour than had been known during the preceding year. Both the National Liberal and the Nationalist parties had their own programmes of political advancement; and in putting these forward they were insistent in their demand that Government should in no way interfere with what were regarded as the essential prolegomena of national development. While the declaration of August the 20th, 1917, had given official sanction to India's claim to progressively responsible government within the Empire, and while the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme had been put forward as an earnest of Government's intentions, there was none the less a very lively fear on the part of both parties lest, now that the war was over, and the hands of Government were more or less free, its attitude towards Indian aspirations in general, should undergo a change. It was probably this feeling which underlay the

Liberals and Nationalists.

Mistrust of Government.

uncompromising statements of minimum demands put forward both by the National Liberal and the Nationalist parties, with which the beginning of the year was marked. There was a general apprehension on the part of the politically-minded classes in India that they might be left out in the cold, now that the moment of danger had passed away. In this connection the failure of Mr. Tilak's action for libel against Sir Valentine Chirol produced a profound impression; and the fear was freely expressed, not merely by Mr. Tilak's own supporters, but by many of those who had not previously found themselves in sympathy with him, that the unquestioned existence of an anarchic movement in India might be made an excuse for the postponement of political reforms.

It will be remembered that the year reviewed in the report for 1918 was marked by considerable uneasiness among the advanced party of Indian political opinion, despite the publication of the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme of constitutional reforms. The Delhi Congress, which closed the year 1918, had thrown over the essential basis of the compromise which had been arrived at in the special session of the Indian National Congress summoned to consider the Reforms Report. This special Session had condemned the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms Scheme as disappointing and unsatisfactory, demanding full provincial autonomy but as a concession to moderate opinion, suggested the reservation of law, justice and police to the existing administration for a period of six years. The Delhi session of the Indian National Congress insisted on the grant of provincial autonomy at once, and inserted, in a resolution relating to the despatch of a deputation to England in connection with the reforms scheme, a clause binding delegates to confine negotiations in England within the four corners of the resolution passed at Delhi. This action, coupled with the formality of electing Mr. Tilak and a few others as independent delegates to the Peace Conference, and with the abandonment of the resolution welcoming the Prince of Wales to India, caused a breach in the ranks of the advanced nationalist party. Shortly afterwards there occurred a regrouping in the general direction prophesied in last year's report. The Home Rule League, of which Mrs. Besant was the founder, had gradually passed beyond her control, with the result that before long she found it desirable to constitute a separate organisation, known as the National Home Rule League, professing views less radical than those which had been approved by the Delhi Congress and differing from the left wing of the extreme Nationalists in its attitude towards the Rowlatt Agitation—of which more hereafter.

The Indian National Congress.

The considerable amount of attention which was given in the English edited press to criticism of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms Scheme; the anxieties which were expressed in public and in private by members

of the different services as to their future under the changed régime; the realisation of the difficulties of making clear to the British people the profound advance in political thought which had come over educated India within the last few years—all these combined to make the politically-minded classes extremely sensitive and uneasy at the beginning of the year 1919. There was a general apprehension, which, though quite unfounded, was none the less serious, that since the signing of the Armistice there had been a notable change in the attitude of the European community, both official and non-official, towards Indian aspirations generally, and towards political reforms in particular. But unfortunately, the feeling of disquiet was not confined to the educated classes.

Misapprehensions.

A further important factor was the deep-rooted sentiment among Indian Muhammadans regarding the Khalifat and the Holy places of Islam. Had it been possible to declare the Turkish peace terms early in the year 1919, it is probable that this feeling would, if confronted with established facts, never have grown to its present dimensions. But the statements appearing in various journals in Europe as to the punishment which Turkey's rash acts were likely to bring upon herself made advanced Muhammadan opinion in India fear that their views were not sufficiently regarded by the British Government and the Allies. As it was with the educated classes in the matter of consitutional aspirations, so was it with the advanced Muhammadans in the matter of pro-Turkish sentiment: there was a most unfortunate, and quite groundless, feeling that loyalty during the war might very well count for nothing after the danger to the Commonwealth had passed away.

Muslim Uneasiness.

A third factor which perhaps had a more unfavourable influence on the situation than any other was that of the economic sufferings of the middle and lower classes. To this, reference will be made in detail in another place; it is here sufficient to say that the high prices of food-stuffs and of clothing, intensified by the failure of the monsoon, exposed the population of many parts of India to considerable hardship. And since in India the masses are accustomed to look to Government for their every need, the natural consequence of the continued rise of prices was to make them feel that Government was in some way to blame for their sufferings.

Economic Distress.

The combination of these three factors, the uneasiness of the politically-minded, the anxiety of advanced Muhammadans, the distress of the masses, was to create a situation fraught with the most dangerous possibilities of internal disorder.

A dangerous Situation.

Aggravating Factors.

It must in fairness be remembered that this situation could not have been obviated by any efforts on the part of the administration. Beyond question, the publication of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme, and the constitution of Lord Southborough's committees for working out the details of that scheme, had seriously alarmed a body of conservative opinion in India, which was not confined to the official services. This opinion found expression in the columns of many influential newspapers in India and the tone occasionally adopted was such as to render not altogether unjustifiable the apprehensions expressed in the pronouncements of the educated classes. But while from this point of view, Indian national aspiration might have been expected to support an administration which was proposing, despite opposition, to introduce the changed conditions, yet on the one hand the scheme proposed did not exactly square with the ideas either of the Moderate or of the Nationalist party, and on the other hand the note of caution which was sounded in India and in England as to the impossibility of granting the more extreme demands which were being put forward, was most liable to be misunderstood. It should be remembered that the leaders of Indian political opinion have so far enjoyed but little opportunity of familiarising themselves with the practical difficulties of administrative work. In consequence, there was a natural tendency to under-estimate the obstacles confronting a change so far-reaching as that contemplated in the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. Impatience at the delay which necessarily occurred between the publication of the scheme and its examination by the British Parliament, served to emphasize the attitude of distrust, displayed by the educated classes towards Government, to which reference has already been made.

In short, there was to be noticed on the part of the politicians at the beginning of the year under review, a determination to assert themselves, to enforce their claims, and to impress Government with the impossibility of ignoring their position and influence. And it was the existence of specific and particular grievances, such as pro-Turkish sentiment among advanced Muhammadans, and economic sufferings among the lower classes, which tended to transmute this feeling of disquiet into a definitely anti-Government attitude.

The "Rowlatt Bills."

From the point of view of the politically-minded classes, their apprehension as to the future fate of Indian national aspirations must have seemed lamentably confirmed by the introduction into the Indian Legislative Council in February, of the legislative measures known as the Rowlatt Bills. Mention was made in last year's report of the work of the Sedition Committee presided over by Sir Sidney Rowlatt in 1918. That Committee had investigated the growth of the revolutionary movement in different

provinces, particularly in Bengal. It had shown that between 1906 and 1918, in that one province alone 311 outrages were committed; over 1,000 persons were accused; and 84 only were convicted. The list of crimes perpetrated was as appalling as the brutality with which they were committed, and the material before the Committee showed how widespread was the criminal organisation and how venomous was the revolutionary propaganda conducted in schools and colleges. Up to the time when the war broke out, the efforts of the police had been very largely baffled by the policy of terrorism pursued by a handful of desperate men. But with the passing of the Defence of India Act and the operations of the rules made under that Act to impose restrictions upon persons implicated in revolutionary movements, the outrages fell in number very considerably. In view of the salutary effect of this temporary provision, the Rowlatt Committee concluded that the principal requirement of the situation was the strengthening of the ordinary machinery of law and order in such fashion as to lend it permanently something of the power which it temporarily had acquired when buttressed by the Defence of India Act. Accordingly, Government determined to introduce two measures in the spring session of the Indian Legislative Council. One of the Bills was a temporary measure, intended to deal with the situation which would arise on the termination of the Defence of India Act six months after the formal restoration of peace.

The First Bill.

It may be mentioned incidentally that the cessation of the powers conferred upon Government under this Act would have entailed the immediate release of many dangerous anarchists who were believed to be only waiting for a favourable opportunity for the revival of their nefarious activities. Accordingly, the first of the two Bills was framed to enable anarchical offences to be tried expeditiously by a strong court consisting of three High Court judges, with no right of appeal. This procedure was only to be brought into operation when the Governor-General was satisfied that in any particular part of British India offences of a revolutionary character were prevalent. In circumstances where the Governor-General was satisfied that movements likely to lead to the commission of offences against the State were being extensively prompted, further powers were to be assumed. In an area where these conditions prevailed, the Local Government was to have power to order persons whom it believed to be actively concerned in such a movement, to furnish security, to reside in a particular place, or to abstain from any specified act. In order to ensure that the powers of Government were not exercised unreasonably, the Bill provided a safeguard in the constitution of an investigating authority, which was to examine the material upon which orders against any persons were framed. This investigating authority was to include one judicial officer and one non-official Indian. In the

third place, when the Governor-General was satisfied that certain offences were being committed to an extent which threatened public safety, the Local Government was given powers to arrest persons reasonably believed to be connected with such offences, and to confine them in such places and under such conditions as were prescribed. The Bill further provided, subject to similar provisions as to investigation, for the continued detention of dangerous characters already under control or in confinement. The purpose was simply and solely to arm Government with power to deal with anarchical movements, after the exceptional machinery set up under the Defence of India Act had ceased to be operative. In other words, it was conferred lest, with the cessation of the unusual powers conferred upon the Administration under that Act, Government should find itself as helpless in dealing with anarchy as it had been prior to the war. The second of the "Rowlatt Bills" was intended to make a permanent change in the ordinary criminal law of the land. The possession of a seditious document with the intention to publish or to circulate the same was to be punishable with imprisonment. Promise of official protection against violence was to be allowable in the case of an accused person willing to turn King's Evidence. District Magistrates were to be authorised to direct a preliminary enquiry by the police in the case of certain offences, for which at present a prosecution cannot be launched without the sanction of the Local Government. Persons convicted of an offence against the State might be ordered by the court to execute a bond of good behaviour for a term not exceeding two years after the expiration of their sentence.

The Second Bill.

At the time when the introduction of these two bills was proposed by the Administration, the general atmosphere, being what we have previously described, was fatally disposed towards uneasiness and suspicion. The intention of the Government to introduce these Bills was denounced by the most vocal section of the educated classes as proof of a determination to deprive India of her legitimate due ; as a flagrant denial of the promises which had been made to her by responsible statesmen during the course of the war; as an iron fetter upon her future progress, the imposition of which would be intolerable for any patriot to contemplate. The feeling excited by the Bill was entirely one of sentiment ; and it was for this reason the more formidable and the more difficult to meet.

Suspicion excited by the Bills.

The introduction of the Rowlatt Bills was the central feature of the February session of the Indian Legislative Council. The Government of India had made up its mind that the passage of the first Bill at least was the necessary preliminary to public security and to any advance along the lines laid down in the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme.

Antithetical view points.

Being entirely innocent of any design upon the aspirations of educated India, the Administration found it difficult to realise the strength of the feeling which suspicion had aroused in the minds of the educated classes. It was hardly to be expected that a measure designed primarily to strengthen the hands of the executive would receive much support from representatives of the people; but there is good reason to believe that the depth of the feeling aroused against the Bills came, for the reason which has already been mentioned, as a complete surprise to those who were responsible for pressing them upon the attention of Government. This feeling, as will be realised from what has already been said, sprang not so much from the provisions of the Bills themselves as from a fear, first, that the powers which the Bills conferred, might be mis-used; and secondly, that the very fact that the Bills were considered necessary constituted an index both to the genuine opinion of Government about Indian aspirations and to the strength of the resistance which Government would probably offer to their realisation. For it must be remembered that although the Montagu-Chelmsford report had been published towards the end of 1918, the Committees which were working out details had not yet published their conclusions, and the Bill in which the conclusions were to be embodied had not come before Parliament. The joint result of these unfortunate circumstances was to make it impossible for the Administration, despite all their pains, to re-assure Indian opinion. The only thing which would have accomplished this end was the withdrawal of the Bills; but since the Administration agreed with the Rowlatt Commission in believing that the machinery of law and order stood in dire need of being strengthened, this course was inconsistent with the responsibilities which the Government of India owed to His Majesty's Government.

The Viceroy's Speech.

The February session began as usual with a comprehensive speech from Lord Chelmsford in which he reviewed the general character of the Administration. Exception was taken in certain quarters to a section of his speech dealing with the position of the Public Services under the contemplated reforms. It had for some time been plain that the very natural anxiety of officials, Indian as well as English, as to their future prospects, was becoming serious. Lord Chelmsford accordingly indicated the importance of the part which the services would play in the new régime; the safeguards which would be introduced to protect them from injury; and the pains which would be taken to obviate any danger of their disintegration. But if the content of this pronouncement was in broad degree re-assuring to many of the persons affected, upon the educated classes, suspicious and disquieted as they were, it acted as an additional source of grievance. The motives of Lord Chelmsford's Government were widely

misrepresented, and the incident was seized upon as indicating yet more clearly the sinister attitude of the Administration towards Indian reforms.

Debates on the Rowlatt Bill.

The long debates which followed the introduction of the first so-called Rowlatt Bill were characterised by an extraordinary atmosphere of unreality. It was plain to begin with that the advocates of the Bills and their opponents were thinking on entirely different planes. It was in vain that Sir Verney Lovett, himself a member of the Committee, depicted cases which he and his colleagues had investigated; that Sir William Vincent who was in charge of the Bills proved to demonstration by quoting actual specimens of intercepted correspondence, that the Bengal seditionists were merely waiting for the release of the "old workers" on the expiration of the Defence of India Act, to recommence with renewed energy their nefarious activities. It was in vain that member after member of the Government solemnly pledged his word that the provisions of the Bill would be used merely for the purpose of checking anarchical and revolutionary crime. In contrast to the hard facts adduced by members of the Government and by official councillors, the non-official members made impassioned appeals to sentiment, eloquent protest against the slur cast on India's loyalty and fervid orations concerning the Rights of Man. The general feeling of the non-official members may be summed up in a quotation from a speech of Mr. Patel :—

> "What I am, however, surprised at really is that a Bill of this kind should have been brought forward at a time when people really expected the introduction and discussion in this Council of measures which would bring them more liberty, more contentment, measures which really would conduce to the greater well-being of the people in matters political, in matters social, and in matters industrial. At a time like this when the war has ended triumphantly for us, at a time when the Peace Conference is sitting to devise measures for the peace of the world, at a time when we are within sight of great constitutional reforms in India; at a time when one of the Indians is made a member of the British Cabinet, at such a time, instead of bringing forward measures which would really conduce to the well-being of Indians, a measure of this character should have been brought forward. That is a matter which surprises me. I do not at all wish to go into the merits of the measure at the present moment. I say, to say the least of these measures, they are inopportune, and they should not have been brought forward at this juncture. There is almost a quietus in the country, and a

tremendous agitation such as I fear to contemplate, is looming."

The First Bill in Select Committee.

Thus, while one party in the Council was appealing to facts, the other party made a no less powerful appeal to sentiment. The first Bill was forced into Select Committee by the use of the official majority, and in Select Committee several important modifications were made, with the object of restricting its scope and thereby conciliating the opposition. Among the most vital of these was a clause to the effect that the Bill should be operative for three years only. And considering that the machinery which the Bill contemplated besides being less powerful than that which Government was actually using at the time under the Defence of India Act, furthermore could not come into operation except under the extremely serious and exceptional conditions mentioned in the enactment itself, it might well have seemed that the Bill, as amended, was practically unobjectionable. Such indeed was actually the view put forward by some political leaders of exceptional insight and courage; but it was far from being shared by the majority of the politically-minded. During the period which elapsed between the first introduction of the Bill, and its reference to Select Committee and ultimate passage, an intensive agitation of a seriousness almost unprecedented in India was being gradually worked up throughout the different parts of the country. In the light of what has happened subsequently, it is almost pathetic to think that the Bill never has been put into operation. Government, indeed, decided tacitly to drop the second Bill altogether. Before the beginning of March, however, there had been talk of passive resistance to the Bill if it was carried and when it actually passed into law, this movement was promptly taken up under the leadership of no less important a person than Mr. M. K. Gandhi.

Mr. Gandhi.

Mr. Gandhi is generally regarded as a Tolstoyan of high ideals and complete selflessness. Since his stand on behalf of the Indians in South Africa, he has commanded among his countrymen all the traditional reverence with which the East envelopes a religious leader of acknowledged asceticism. In his case, he possesses the added strength that his admirers are not confined to any one religious sect. Since he took up his residence in Ahmedabad in the Bombay Presidency he has been actively concerned in social work of varied kinds. His readiness to take up the cudgels on behalf of any individual or class whom he regards as being oppressed has endeared him to the masses of his countrymen. In the case of the urban and rural population of many parts of the Bombay Presidency, his influence is unquestioned; and he is regarded with a reverence for which adoration is scarcely too strong a word. Believing as he does in

the superiority of 'soul-force' over material might, Mr. Gandhi was led to believe that it was his duty to employ against the Rowlatt Act that weapon of passive resistance which he had used effectively in South Africa. It was announced in February that he would head a passive resistance or *Satyagraha* movement if the Bills were passed. This announcement was regarded as being of the utmost gravity both by Government and by many of the Indian politicians. Some moderate members of the Indian Legislative Council publicly affirmed their apprehension as to the consequences of such a step. Mrs. Besant with her remarkable knowledge of the psychology of the Indian temperament warned Mr. Gandhi in the most solemn manner that any such movement as he contemplated would result in the release of forces whose potentialities for evil were quite incalculable. It must be clearly stated that there was nothing in Mr. Gandhi's attitude or pronouncement which could have justified Government in taking any steps against him before the inception of the movement. Passive resistance is a negative and not a positive process. Mr. Gandhi expressly condemned any resort to material force. He was confident that he would be able, by a process of passive disobedience to civil laws, to coerce the Government into abandoning the Rowlatt Act. On the 1st March he published a pledge regarding the Rowlatt Bills, which ran as follows :—

Satyagraha or Passive Resistance.

"Being conscientiously of opinion that the Bill known as the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Bill No. 1 of 1919 and the Criminal Law Emergency Powers Bill No. 2 of 1919 are unjust, subversive of the principles of liberty and justice, and destructive of the elementary rights of an individual on which the safety of India as a whole and the State itself is based, we solemnly affirm that in the event of these Bills becoming law and until they are withdrawn, we shall refuse civilly to obey these laws and such other laws as the committee to be hereafter appointed may think fit and we further affirm that in the struggle we will faithfully follow truth and refrain from violence to life, person or property."

In order to secure a proper organization for the passive resistance movement, local committees were set up in most parts of Northern India to educate both the masses and the politically minded classes in the principles of passive resistance.

Discontent comes to a head.

The publication of Mr. Gandhi's pledge, coupled with the vehement denouncement of the Rowlatt Bill delivered in the Indian Council by non-official members, laid the foundation of an agitation so intensive as to be without parallel in recent years. We have already explained

the uneasiness of the general atmosphere. It will be realized that, when launched in an atmosphere thus surcharged with electricity, such a movement as Mr. Gandhi's might contain incredible possibilities for mischief. The general discontent of the educated and the illiterate classes, combined with the specific fears of the Muhammadan community, were all, as it were, brought to a focus against the single objective of the Rowlatt Act. This unquestionably is the psychological explanation for the extraordinary rumours which within a short time began to make their appearance up and down India as to the nature of this Act. To the educated class in general, the Act stood as something symbolical, the very embodiment of past resentment and future fear; as full confirmation of these lively, if baseless apprehensions that India was to be thwarted in her legitimate aspirations, as proof unquestionable that henceforth the sympathetic policy pursued by the administration towards the political development of India would be replaced by a régime of iron oppression. The masses on the other hand identified the Act with their own sufferings, reading into it all their deep-seated disappointment at Government's failure to perform an economic miracle in the reduction of prices. Like wildfire rumours spread through the bazars that the Act would impose taxation equal to half a man's income; that it would heavily penalise with pecuniary exactions the humble ceremonies accompanying marriage and death which constitute the principal interest of humble folks' existence; that it would expose them to intolerable and irretrievable oppression at the hands of the police; that three men might not meet together to discuss village affairs without their being arrested; that all land-owners must realize that crops were the property of Government which they could at short notice commandeer in whole or in part.

Misrepresentations.

These extraordinary misconceptions as to the scope and intention of the Act were characterised by a blindness to facts more pronounced than, but otherwise not dissimilar from, that which had appeared in the objections put forward by some non-official members in the Indian Legislative Council. But for the existence of economic unrest and other specific grievances these rumours would probably have been less serious. As we have attempted to point out, the objection to the Act was in its essence sentimental arising rather from what the Act was supposed to stand for than from the character of the Act itself. In fact, this measure had become a sort of simulacrum which represented to every class the embodiment of the particular grievances from which it suffered. Confronted by this attitude the task of the administration was difficult indeed.

The apprehensions as to the nature of the Act which made their way far and wide over Northern India were impossible to correct by any machinery which Government had at its disposal. In vain were

copies of the Act distributed, and pronouncements as to its limited character officially issued and communicated to the people in darbars. In vain did the cooler heads among the propertied classes attempt to demonstrate its harmless character.

The agitation spread and being directed and guided by the organizations set up by Mr. Gandhi had assumed a more dangerous form, because more concentrated, than would otherwise have been the case.

Course of the agitation.

During the whole month of March, the press of India was filled with reports of meetings protesting against the Act and was innundated by articles and letters demonstrating the duty of opposing the continuation of such an iniquitous enactment for a single minute upon the Statute Book of India. Speeches of the most violent and inflammatory kind were delivered both in the Bombay Presidency and in Northern India. There were not wanting those who pointed out the dangerous heights to which popular excitement was being raised, and implored Mr. Gandhi to remember that those like himself, who could subdue all selfish passions and maintain under the most difficult circumstances the detached calm of the oriental ascetic were few indeed. Bengal, which has had a greater experience of agitation and its consequences than any other part of India, firmly refused to take part in the movement. In this province the moderates were strong : and while yielding to none in the strength of their opposition to the Bill, the party as a whole was emphatic in its determination not to be dragged into the vortex which popular excitement was plainly creating. On the other hand, generally speaking, the nationalist party constituted the backbone of the *Satyagraha* movement. The leaders of this party were generally found directing the activities of the local *Satyagraha* organizations. They it was who were most intimately in the councils of Mr. Gandhi ; and it is to their energy that the unprecedented extent of the agitation must largely be ascribed. They succeeded in capturing the bulk of local opinion in India both in the Press and on the Platform ; and it required a real courage on the part of those who did not agree with them, to utter sentiments divergent from their own. In the event the movement precipitated a series of conflicts between the excited masses and the forces of law and order in several parts of India. The occasion for the beginning of the trouble was found in the characteristically Indian institution of *hartal*.

Trouble.

This means the closing of shops, generally in token of mourning. It is also symptomatic of public excitement ; for by immemorial tradition, the first symptom of a popular outbreak in India is uneasiness lest the bazars should be looted by the disorderly elements of the urban population. Now in pursuit of his campaign of passive resistance, Mr. Gandhi thought it well to notify that certain days would be observed

up and down India by his followers as days of public mourning. The first serious trouble occurred in Delhi on March 30th when a collision arose between the party which desired to secure the suspension of all business, and the police of the city. The actual occasion for the outbreak was the attempt to induce the vendors of sweetmeats in the railway station refreshment room from continuing their trade. It must be realized that on the occasion of a *hartal*, when all business is suspended, crowds collect in streets of Indian cities with an inconceivable rapidity. The wildest rumours are current, and the gap between suggestion and action is very narrow. In this case, two of the persons who were bringing pressure to bear upon the sweetmeat vendors were arrested by the police. Large crowds collected to effect their release, whch was successfully accomplished. The mob was in an excited condition, and the authorities, after a certain interval of stone-throwing, deemed it advisable to call out the troops. Firing was finally resorted to, causing five deaths and score or so of casualties.

Delhi.

As may well be imagined, the occurrences at Delhi, coming as they did in conjunction with an atmosphere so disturbed, acted as a spark to a powder magazine. Increasingly violent speeches were delivered in various parts of the country and the persons who had met their death at Delhi were publicly referred to as martyrs. It was announced that another and more complete *hartal* would be observed on April the 6th ; and full preparations were made for conducting it in an impressive manner. One noticeable feature of the general excitement was the unprecedented fraternization between the Hindus and the Muhammadans. It was noticed in last year's report that the union of the leaders of the two communities in pursuit of common political ends had been for long a fixed plank of the nationalist platform. No one who is unfamiliar with Indian conditions can appreciate adequately the difficulty which attends the attempt to identify the interests of the masses, as apart from the political leaders, of the two communities. But in this time of public excitement Hindus and Muhammadans even of the lower classes seemed for once to forget their differences. As it chanced, the casualties at Delhi included both Muhammedans and Hindus and on April 6th, the occasion of the great general *hartal*, extraordinary scenes of fraternization occurred. Hindus publicly accepted water from the hands of Mahammadans and *vice versâ* ; and the large and disorderly processions which made their appearance in so many places indicated both by their cries and by the banners which they bore that Hindu-Mussalman unity was the popular watchword. But considering that in one place a Hindu religious leader had actually been allowed to preach from the pulpit of a cathedral mosque, these phenomena, surprising

Hindu-Muslim Unity.

as they are, can hardly be considered the most remarkable features of the movement. The singular violence of speech and action which characterised the *Satyagraha* movement became increasingly manifest as the days went on. Passionate statements were made by its adherents that they were ready to die "at a time" as Mrs. Besant remarked "when no one in the least wanted to kill them." The pressure which was brought to bear upon those who showed a reluctance to suspend business was very severe. Logs were placed in the way of tramcars, travellers in carriages and cars were compelled to alight and to go on foot. Before very long, Mr. Gandhi's apprehensions as to the way in which the movement was being conducted in northern India induced him to leave Bombay Presidency for the Punjab. But in view of the excited condition of the population, and of the fact that Mr. Gandhi was the admitted head of the *Satyagraha* movement, the authorities believed that his presence would make the task, already a matter of great difficulty, of maintaining order quite impossible. Accordingly, he was stopped on his way north and was escorted back to the Bombay Presidency. The rumour spread with great rapidity that he had been arrested, and proved the signal for mob violence of the most lamentable description.

Considering that the causes and events of the disturbances in the Punjab and in Bombay are the subject of enquiry by a committee, the report of which is not available at the time of writing, it is neither possible, nor proper to recount in detail the course which was pursued by the disturbances, or the measures which were taken by Government for their suppression. It will be sufficient to recount in the barest outline the acknowledged facts of these lamentable occurrences. The observance of the *hartal* on the 6th April had been much more general than on the previous occasion and indeed extended over a great many provinces. It passed off without serious disturbance, although there was some disorder both in Calcutta and in Bombay. The majority of the inhabitants of Calcutta observed the mourning, and in some districts of Bengal the same thing was done. In the large towns of the United Provinces and of the Punjab the *hartal* was almost universal. In Bihar and Orissa it was confined to Patna and a few other towns; while in Burma, the Central Provinces, Coorg and the North-West Frontier there were practically no demonstrations.

April 6th.

In Madras shops were closed in the presidency town and in certain other large towns, but not much insterest was taken in the movement. The successful conclusion of the *hartal* of the 6th seemed to ease the situation, but in reality, the agitation had already created an atmosphere of tension containing many elements of danger. This was particularly true in the Punjab, where passive resistance is not a course of action likely to find favour with the virile and martial population. What the Rowlatt Committee had written on the Sikh population is true of many

classes in the provinces, that " with the high-spirited and adventurous Sikhs the interval between thought and action is short. If captured by inflammatory appeals they are prone to act with all celerity and in a fashion dangerous to the whole fabric of order and constitutional rule." The first bad news of actual breach of the peace came from Amritsar, where the Local Government had decided on the deportation of two prominent leaders, Doctors Kitchlew and Satyapal. An angry mob after being turned back from an attempt to reach the civil lines wrecked the telegraph office, destroyed the railway goods shed, burnt a bank and gutted public buildings and killed five Englishmen. A lady missionary, Miss Sherwood, was beaten almost to death, and other outrages were committed. The excitement rapidly communicated itself to Lahore, where large crowds collected outside the city and advanced towards the civil station. The police fired a few shots, causing a certain number of casualties. At the same time, there were numerous attacks on railway and telegraph lines, and railway stations in the Punjab were burnt. Bad news also came from the Bombay Presidency, where on the report that Mr. Gandhi had been arrested, an angry mob attacked the telegraph office and other Government buildings at Ahmedabad and killed English and Indian officials. Here also the railway lines were damaged and telegraph wires were cut. Trouble also occurred in the Bombay Presidency at Viramgam and Nadiad on April the 12th. There were disturbances in Bombay city, police and cavalry patrolling the town being stoned during the afternoon. In the Punjab meanwhile excitement was steadily rising, and a number of posters made their appearance in Lahore and elsewhere inciting the people to open rebellion. A collision again occurred between the mob and the police, though fortunately once more the casualties were very small. On the same day, April 12th, serious news was also received from Calcutta, where a collision occurred between a mob and a picquet which was on duty in the city. Here again firing was begun killing five or six men and wounding twelve others. On the 13th April when all telegraphic communication with the Punjab had been cut, the Government of India received a wireless message from Lahore, in which the local Government reported that railway stations between Kasur and Amritsar had been looted, a British soldier being killed and two officers injured at Kasur, that bands of rebels were on the move and a state of open rebellion existed in Lahore and Amritsar. The Lieutenant-Governor, with the concurrence of the General Officer Commanding, 16th Division and the Chief Justice of the High Court, urged the suspension of the ordinary criminal courts and the establishment of Martial Law. On receipt of this message, and in view of previous report, the Government of India determined to proclaim

Early Outbreaks.

Course of the Disturbances.

Martial Law in the Amritsar and Lahore districts, and a few days later extended it to the Gujaranwala, Gujrat and Lyallpur districts. In Amritsar *de facto* Martial Law had been in force since the outrages of the 10th April, when the civil authorities having become powerless handed over control to the military, and it was in this city that the most serious loss of life occurred. On the morning of April 13th all public meetings were prohibited by beat of drum, but in the afternoon a meeting was held in a large open space surrounded by buildings named the Jallianwala Bagh. General Dyer who was in command at Amritsar collected his available striking force which was under one hundred in number, marched to the scene of the meeting and instantly opened fire upon the crowd of several thousands there assembled, inflicting casualties which so far as is known amounted in killed alone to 379. The details of this action and the propriety of the reasons on which it was based are two of the most important questions that were considered by Lord Hunter's Committee of Enquiry referred to below. The measures taken to enforce martial law in the disturbed areas were followed by the gradual restoration of order throughout the Punjab. Meanwhile in the Bombay Presidency the disturbances quieted more rapidly. Mr. Gandhi was greatly shocked at what had happened and declared his readiness to assist in every possible way to restore normal conditions. He admitted that he had made a blunder of "Himalayan" dimensions which had enabled ill-disposed persons, not true passive resisters at all, to perpetrate disorders, and he announced the suspension of passive resistance. The disturbances in the Punjab continued some time after the events at Amritsar, and the cutting of railway lines became a marked feature of the activities of the rioters. On the 14th a railway station was attacked at Gujranwala, and all telegraph wires were cut. The church, the magistrate's court, and other Government buildings were wrecked and burnt. The disturbance here was restrained by the use of aeroplanes, the only force immediately available. Moveable columns were sent out from Lahore and from other military centres which visited almost all the districts in the province. Until the 21st April there were continual attacks upon railways, telegraph lines and communications generally. After that date, however, there were no further reports of open disorder although a few attempts to cut communications were reported subsequently.

The Jallianwala Bagh Tragedy.

From this bare outline which is all that we are justified, for reasons previously explained, in attempting at the time of writing it is impossible to convey any adequate impression of the seriousness of the situation with which the administration of India was faced. The rapidity with which disorder can spread in an oriental country is proverbial;

Seriousness of the situation.

and in this case, as has already been pointed out, there existed for various reasons a considerable amount of discontent among the bulk of the population, which was likely to afford fuel of the most dangerous kind for the spreading of the flame of disturbance. The disastrous experience of 1857 had showed very clearly how fatal might be the result of hesitation and delay at a time when firm and prompt action alone could stem the tide of disorder. The Government of India realized that the situation was one which called for the utmost care, and on the 14th April a resolution was issued which announced in the plainest terms Government's intention to employ all available forces to put a speedy end to disorder. In the course of this resolution, the following passage occurs: "the Governor-General in Council considers it unnecessary to detail here the deplorable occurrences resulting from the agitation against this Act (Rowlatt Act). The offences which have occurred at Delhi, Calcutta, Bombay and Lahore have one common feature, unprovoked attempts of violent and unruly mobs to hamper or obstruct those charged with the duty of maintaining order in public places. At Amritsar and Ahmedabad they have taken a far graver form, of murderous attacks on defenceless individuals and wholesale and wanton destruction of private and public property. The Governor-General in Council thinks it right to state that at Amritsar the loss of life might have been greater but for the protection afforded by unofficial Indians to those who were threatened by the mob, and he takes this opportunity of expressing the gratitude of the Government for this conspicuous example of loyalty and humane feeling. It remains for the Governor-General in Council to assert in the clearest manner the intentions of the Government to prevent by all means, however drastic, any recurrence of these excesses."

Policy of Government.

The result of the news of the disorders in the Punjab and in Bombay was to cause an immediate rallying of responsible feeling to Government. There was a general realization that agitation, even when directed towards an end so generally approved by Indians as the repeal of the Rowlatt Act, had been carried much too far; and there was a general apprehension among the educated and propertied classes, lest the forces of disorder which had been thus unchained should break all bounds. The news that the disorders were being gradually suppressed was welcomed and it was not until some little while afterwards that the methods of the suppression began to be called in question. But there was a general demand on the part of the politically minded classes that, having regard to the conflicting reports as to the exact details of the collision between the mob and the forces of law and order, a commission should be appointed to enquire into the circumstances of the situation without delay. Those who had all along prophesied that the passive resistance movement

Public Opinion.

would culminate in disorder, now found themselves justified by the events. At the same time, there was noticeable a growing feeling among educated India that the sternness which marked the action of Government was not justified by the seriousness of the situation. Some of the more "extreme" newspapers took up this charge with vigour, and the tone of their comment induced Government to employ the Press Act against them. At this juncture, however, certain persons who had the courage of their convictions spoke with no uncertain voice. Mrs. Besant writing on April 18th gave her view of the situation as follows:—

"The dead and wounded in the Punjab have mounted up to many hundreds. No one, I presume, will contend that the Government should look on while mobs murdered, wrecked banks, fired railway stations; do they then think that it is more merciful to give a mob its head, after it begins throwing brickbats, until—as at Delhi—it had broken into the station and struck down any resisting railway official, than to stop it at the very outset of violence at the cost of less than a score of lives? or will my critics say at what step the Government should intervene? I say that when a small handful of soldiers and police is face to face with a mob of many thousands, and the mob begins to pelt them with brickbats it is more merciful to order the soldiers to fire a few volleys of buckshot than to allow the violence to gather strength until either the town must be given to mob rule or machine guns or bombs be brought into play. It is a terrible alternative but any Government worthy of the name has to face it." She went on to say "let us who are home-rulers, stand by our political flag. Let us in every possible way help in the preservation of civil peace. Let us, for this time of danger, drop all criticism of Government action and stand firmly by the Government against revolution, which means bloodshed at home and invasion from abroad."

The Afghan War.

The foresight of Mrs. Besant's last sentence was realized within a few weeks, when there occurred the unexpected outbreak of war with Afghanistan, of which mention has been made in the first Chapter. We have already seen that the reports of the internal disorders of India had greatly stimulated the new Amir in his project of invading the country. With the course of hostilities we are not concerned in this place; it will be sufficient here to notice that the threat of invasion from the north contributed still further to rally the bulk of responsible opinion to the side of Government. This same invasion had, however, one regrettable consequence, in that it led to the continuation of martial law in certain areas of the Punjab for some weeks subsequent to the suppression of the last disorders, This of itself began to cause a reaction against Government on the part of the Nationalist party, lending colour as it did to the belief they were beginning to hold and to express that Government was taking

advantage of the Punjab disturbances to suppress political life throughout the country.

Demand for Enquiry.

It was unfortunate that the actual details of the Punjab disturbances and their suppression were not known more widely all over India. The wildest rumours began shortly to make their appearance as to the way in which martial law had been employed. The demand for a commission of enquiry was taken up with greater and greater vehemence in the summer of 1919 and this demand was emphasised by the very severe sentences inflicted upon the persons concerned in the disorders by the summary courts which had been set up in the Punjab. Before long the Nationalist party had convinced themselves that the occasion had arisen for putting the whole administration of India on its trial, while the moderates maintained that a full enquiry into the whole origin and course of the disturbances was urgently necessary. At this time, deputations from all sections of Indian political parties were either in England or proceeding to England in order to give evidence before the joint Committee of both Houses which was considering the Bill for Indian constitutional reforms. There was a very grave apprehension in the minds not merely of the Nationalists but also of the moderate party, lest the lamentable occurrences in the Punjab and in Bombay should be seized upon as an excuse for postponing constitutional reforms. Fortunately, the English press as a whole, while it had not entirely realized the magnitude of the crisis through which India had passed, took the view that the occurrence of the disorders merely demonstrated the need for pushing ahead with Indian reforms with the greatest possible celerity. But during the summer, although the topic of constitutional reform naturally continued to attract much attention in India, it was gradually overshadowed by the Punjab disturbances as a topic of public interest. With the relaxation of martial law in certain areas, which was accomplished on May 20th, and with its entire abrogation except as regards railway land, which happened on the 11th of June, the Punjab which had been as it were isolated from the rest of India by the terrible experience through which it had passed, found that the ordinary channels of communication were once more open to it. As long as the situation remained serious, there had been a rigorous censorship on the publication of news concerning the Punjab, and the powers conferred by martial law upon the administrators thereof had in certain cases been employed in a manner which certainly did not facilitate communication between the Punjab and the rest of India. With the resumption of the ordinary means of intercourse, and the removal of the restrictions upon railway travelling, rumours grew thicker and thicker as to the nature of some of the

Rumours and rising feeling.

actions taken under martial law. The casualties inflicted at the Jallianwala Bagh firing were largely magnified in public estimation; and it was alleged that in certain instances, punishments had been inflicted with the deliberate intention of injuring the *amour propre*, the national pride of India. Some leaders of the Nationalist party raised a loud outcry and without stopping their request for a commission of enquiry, began to put forward a demand for the recall of Lord Chelmsford. It was openly rumoured that Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, was to be "impeached" by a committee of the Nationalists. The feeling in the more advanced journals of the party grew more and more bitter: and it became plain before long that the widespread and growing demands for an enquiry into the origin and suppression of the disorders was with them nothing more nor less than a demand for unsparing condemnation of the measures and policy of Government. Most unfortunately throughout all this period, Government found itself unable to publish a full and frank account of what had happened for the simple reason that these happenings were shortly to be made the subject of an enquiry. For from the outset Government had recognised, and the Secretary of State had announced in the House of Commons, that an enquiry must be made into the causes of the disturbances and the measures taken to suppress them. But while it was plainly impossible, consistently with the position of Government, to publish such a full and complete account of the Punjab disturbances as might have satisfied the rising sentiment of the nationalist party, yet this circumstance none the less was a matter for profound regret. It was impossible to correct misapprehensions, and to present the other aspect of the case. Racial feeling grew steadily; and until the facts had been elicited by an impartial tribunal, it was hopeless to counsel moderation. There were not wanting those who pointed out that such enquiry as was demanded was *per se* undesirable, in that it would merely inflame still further the racial bitterness between Indians and Englishmen to which the Punjab disturbances were gradually giving rise.

Difficulties of the Administration.

During the whole of the summer of 1919, a marked feature of the political life of India was the vehemence and universality of the press attacks which were levelled against the administration. In the Indian edited journals, criticism of Government's action in connection with the Punjab disturbances grew more and more general; and was reinforced so far as the English edited press was concerned, with criticism directed against the conduct of the Afghan campaign. Moreover there was discovered another grievance against Government, when the despatches embodying official opinion upon the Montagu-Chelmsford reform scheme and the recommendations of the Southborough committee, became

available to the public. The general criticism was levelled against Government, not merely in the Nationalist but also in the Moderate press that the reform scheme as originally conceived had been whittled down and diminished by these recommendations.

Now as a rule, if at any given moment the administration of India is seriously attacked in the Indian-edited press, it can rely upon a certain measure of support from the English-edited press. But in this case as has been pointed out, the grievances which moved the Indian edited press, namely, the Punjab disturbances and the despatches on reform, found their counterpart in the English-edited press in the shape of attacks upon Government for alleged mismanagement of frontier affairs. In consequence, all through the summer the administration of India suffered severely ; and it was in all probability largely as a result of this that efforts were made to set up some machinery which would secure for Government a fair statement of its case before the tribunal of public opinion. During the war, valuable work had been done by publicity organizations temporarily constituted for the education of the public in matters connected with the successful prosecution of the struggle. In the United Provinces, the Punjab and Madras the machinery so set up was continued in a slightly different form after the cessation of hostilities A similar step was later taken by the Presidency of Bombay So far as the Central Government is concerned, the Publicity Board set up during the war was brought to an end at the beginning of the year under review ; but after the necessary period for discussion and examination, publicity machinery on a modest scale was set up in the Government of India also.

Publicity organisations.

At the moment when Government most needed facilities for stating its view of the matters which were agitating public opinion, these facilities were, however, still in a rudimentary stage of development. But after the experience of the summer of 1919, had there remained any hesitation as to the necessity of setting up in India, as in other parts of the world, adequate machinery for the information of the public, this hesitation would have disappeared in the light of the unanimous recommendations which found place in the report of the Joint Select Committee which was shortly afterwards set up to report upon the Government of India Bill. The committee stated that they had been greatly struck by the earnest representations made to them by several witnesses, both of British and Indian birth, to the effect that the Government of India and the provincial Governments must become vocal and put forth their views with more courage and more persistence than they had in the past. It was represented to them that it will be of the utmost importance in the future that the

Necessity for publicity.

Government of India and the provincial Governments should have the means of explaining to the people of India the reasons why things are done, the reasons which underlie decision and the arguments against proposals which they consider will be detrimental to the welfare of the country. It was represented to the committee that at present, to a great extent, the case for the policy of the Government of India and of the provincial Governments is unknown by masses of Indians, whereas the case against that policy is becoming every day more widely disseminated by means of the vernacular press. It must be plain in view of the changes which the constitutional reforms are bringing to India that the existence of suitable machinery for the information of the public is not a matter which now admits of any question. But the fact that this machinery was not yet in working order during the summer of 1919 was not without a serious influence upon the history of the period under review. This is shown by what happened in the Indian Legislative Council.

Indian Legislative Council.

The September session of the Indian Legislative Council promised to be of unusual interest, since some kind of an authoritative pronouncement of the official view must necessarily then be made. It was known that an Indemnity Act of some kind was to be introduced for the protection of those who had performed the difficult and unpleasant duty of restoring order, and there was a considerable apprehension both among the Moderates and among the Nationalists lest this Act should prejudice the conduct of the investigation for which they were pressing. In anticipation of an official pronouncement, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya with some of his immediate adherents had constituted themselves into an unofficial commission of enquiry. In general, public opinion was very restive, the more so that Muhammadan opinion, after passing through a stage of comparative apathy since the beginning of the year, had become once more uneasy as to the future of Turkey and was inclined to doubt whether Great Britain sufficiently appreciated the seriousness for Indian Muhammadan of the issues involved in the peace settlement with that country.

The Viceroy's Speech.

Lord Chelmsford's opening speech did something to reassure these latter apprehensions, since he stated that through the strong representations of the Government of India, the fullest possible expression had been given to Muhammadan opinion, not merely before His Majesty's Government but also before the Peace Conference. But the portion of the speech which attracted most attention was the announcement that after consultation between the Government of India and the Secretary of State, a committee had been appointed to enquire into the Punjab disorders. The committee was composed of Lord Hunter as

Chairman, Mr. Justice Rankin, of the Calcutta High Court, Mr. Rice, a Senior Civilian from Burma, Major General Sir George Barrow, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, a well known Moderate politician, and Sahibzada Sultan Ahmed, an high official in an Indian State. To them were afterwards added, as a result of opinion freely expressed in Council another Indian member, Pandit Jagat Narain from Lucknow and a non-official Englishman, Mr. Thomas Smith from Cawnpore, both members of the Legislative Council of the United Provinces. There was a certain disappointment both within and without the Council that a Royal Commission had not been constituted, and it was the moving of a resolution by Mr. Malaviya for the appointment of such a commission that provided the occasion of the first encounter between Government and the extreme Nationalists.

The Committee of Enquiry.

The mover's contention was that the Government of India was so deeply implicated in the Punjab disturbances that it was improper for them to appoint a committee or to receive its report. This argument did not commend itself to most of the other non-official members, although the speeches which were delivered plainly showed the depths to which the feelings of educated India were stirred by rumours of what had happened in the Punjab. The murders of Englishmen were described in Council as "rash acts of the mob" while the military and the police were openly charged with brutality and harshness. Two things were asked from Government by the general consensus of non-official opinion; first that another Indian and a non-official European should be added to the commission; and secondly that the sentences of the martial law tribunals should be revised. Government met Council on both these points. The rejection of Mr. Malaviya's motion without even a division seemed tantamount to a vote of confidence in Government. But the really critical debate took place on Septmber the 18th when the Home Member introduced a bill to indemnify those officers who had in suppressing the disturbances acted in good faith and in a reasonable belief that their actions were necessary. This bill was carefully restricted in order that it should not prejudice the work of the committee of enquiry. In the first place it only indemnified from legal, as apart from departmental, penalties, actions taken "in good faith and in a reasonable belief that they were necessary for maintaining or restoring order," while it left the ordinary courts to judge according to the usual legal standards, whether these conditions were fulfilled. Without in any way indemnifying individual acts, it merely asserted a principle under which the ordinary courts could protect officers who acted rightly and justifiably, though outside the letter of the law. It did not save any officer from such departmental

Mr. Malaviya's motion.

The Indemnity Bill.

penalties, dismissal, degradation or reprimand, as he might incur from mistakes or excesses of any sort. The introduction of this measure had been the subject of much bitter attack and indeed of misrepresentation due to misunderstanding, from several sections of the Indian press ; but the explanation of it given by Sir William Vincent, the Member of Council in charge, was successful in reassuring the non-official members. The representatives who came from the Punjab itself announced their intention of supporting the bill. The opposition was led by Mr. Malaviya, who in a long speech of 4¾ hours represented the disturbances to be nothing but the inevitable consequences of tactless treatment meted out by Government to persons already exasperated beyond endurance by official stupidity and harshness. The speeches which were made in reply produced a profound impression. It has already been stated that people in other parts of India knew very little of what really went on during the Punjab disturbances, and as a significant illustration of this it should be noticed that in this session of Council, the bitterest complaints against the authorities came from members representing places so remote from the disturbed area as are Madras and Assam. Thus it came about that official speeches which stated dispassionately and in such detail as was available the actual occurrences of those critical April days, produced a profound impression upon the minds of many of the non-official members. So independent a member as Sir Dinshaw Wacha declared himself convinced that Government was justified in the attitude it had assumed towards the Indemnity Bill. The amendment to postpone the Indemnity Bill was supported by some two or three votes only, and leave was given to introduce and subsequently publish the bill without a single audible protest of dissent. When the Bill came up finally for passage on the 24th Mr. Malviya again spoke at great length. His attitude of opposition remained unmodified, but the support which he received was so inconsiderable that no division was challenged.

The debates on the Indemnity Bill constituted the most prominent feature of the Council session. Indeed public attention was so far concentrated upon them and upon the statements to which they gave rise that two measures of far greater potential importance excited but little notice. With each of these we deal at greater length in another place, for both are strictly speaking unconnected with the internal politics of India. One project referred to the amalgamation of the three Presidency Banks, in pursuit of an enterprise, the vital importance of which is now fully realised, for increasing and extending the banking facilities to which the people of India have access. The other related to the imposition of a protective tariff upon the export of raw hides and skins, with the object of encouraging the tanning industry of India.

Important Questions pass unnoticed.

The fact that these two departures, both possessing immense potential importance attracted so little attention, is a curious example of the narrowness of the limits within which public opinion is focussed in India.

Constitutional Reforms.

During the summer and autumn of 1919, great interest was naturally excited in India by the progress which was made with the project of constitutional reform. The Government of India Bill embodying these reforms was referred by Parliament to a joint committee of both Houses presided over by Lord Selborne. This committee heard evidence from various deputations and individuals representative of all shades of opinion in India. The evidence so given was reprinted in almost every Indian paper as fully as circumstances would allow. Indignation was freely expressed in extreme Nationalist organs at evidence which seemed likely to influence the committee in a direction contrary to the hopes of the party. The tactics pursued in regard to reforms by the Moderate deputation also came in for their share of censure. Indeed there was little doubt, as the summer went on, that the Moderate party, both on account of the responsible attitude of its representatives, and the skill with which they urged their case, had been more successful in winning for itself the confidence of English public men then in power than had been the case with the extreme Nationalist party. The Nationalists on the other hand concentrated their attention upon the task of enlisting the sympathy of the various sections of the Labour Party, who, whatever may be their future control over the destinies of India, were not then in a position to influence substantially her progress towards self-government. When the Joint Committee's report was published, it was hailed by the Moderate party and by Mrs. Besant's supporters as a conspicuous triumph. Nor indeed can it be denied that the views and the opinions which had been submitted by these bodies had exerted very great influence upon the final shaping of the measure, for while the Moderate party had not secured the satisfaction of every claim put forward, they had been successful in achieving much. The measure as it was presented to Parliament constituted a substantial advance upon the Montagu-Chelmsford report in several directions. Details of this will be given in a subsequent chapter. It is enough here to say that the final shape assumed by the proposals was very gratifying to the Moderates, constituting as it did a scheme which they felt they could work whole-heartedly for the good of India. On the other hand, the extreme section of the Nationalists was not pleased. There was a certain amount of natural pique at the great success achieved by the rival party—a success for which the spokesmen of that party both in the press and on the platform took full credit. Certain of the Nationalists admitted that they thought no great harm would be done if the reform

Triumph of the Moderates.

bill came to grief in Parliament. Many members of this party had frankly disapproved of dyarchy from the very first, and the fact that the bill had been obviously liberalized by the Joint Committee, and was certain of speedy passage through Parliament gave them little pleasure. Although several of the safeguards proposed by the Government of India in their despatches, such as the separate purse, the reservation of industries and education and the like, had been rejected by the Joint Committee, the extreme Nationalists still maintained their view that the whole scheme was disappointing and unsatisfactory. And the profound effect which the Punjab disturbances had produced upon Indian opinion in general, enabled the extreme nationalists to take up the position that the reforms were *per se* worthless unless accompanied by such a declaration of rights as would make a repetition of the Punjab occurrences impossible. The question was openly canvassed whether they, as a party, should not decline to have anything to do with the reform scheme, and should endeavour to create an atmosphere which would tend to make the working of any such scheme as was proposed very difficult. So far as official opinion was concerned, it was indicated in no uncertain terms that the administration intended to co-operate enthusiastically in making the new régime a success ; and the result of this was that by the end of the year there had arisen a strong tendency towards co-operation between the moderate party and the official administration as at present constituted. But the public attention attracted by the reform scheme during the whole autumn was very much less than might have been expected, owing to the competition of other topics of interest. As soon as Lord Hunter's Committee of Enquiry began to take evidence, its sittings naturally excited much comment.

Lord Hunter's Committee.

This evidence was reproduced as fully as possible in many Indian papers, very often with the most sensational of headlines. For example one enterprising daily of extreme views referred to the Jallianwala Bagh affair as " Dyer's Feast of Blood." The apprehensions of those who feared that any such enquiry would merely stimulate racial feeling and still further widen the gulf which had recently opened between Englishmen and Indians, found considerable justification. And at this very moment there came before the public notice yet another topic upon which feeling was deeply moved. This was the agitation conducted on behalf of Turkey.

We have already noticed how Muhammadan anxiety on behalf of

Muhammadan Anxiety.

Turkey waxed and waned during the interval which elapsed since the declaration of the armistice. If it had been possible to announce the Turkish peace terms quickly, it is probable that they would have been accepted

as the decree of fate. But long delay gradually produced a change from the early attitude of passive acquiescence to the later hope that Government's hand might perhaps be forced in the matter. During the last six months of 1919 feeling was rising steadily among the more advanced section of the Muhammadan community. And Mr. Gandhi, always the champion of those whose rights he regards as being in danger, took what was for a Hindu an unprecedented step, namely, that of identifying himself with a Muhammadan religious movement. The immediate occasion for the agitation was found in the approach of the official " peace celebrations," fixed for December the 13th and following days. It was publicly stated that good Muslims ought not to take part in the rejoicing while the Turkish question remained unsettled, and in order to popularise this view an 'Anti-Peace' Celebration Committee was set up. Mr. Gandhi announced his intention of declaring a fresh *hartal* and days of mourning in support of the Muhammadan claim that Turkey and the Khalifat should be reinstated in the position which they had occupied prior to the war. The anti-peace celebrators succeeded in preventing the bulk of the Muhammadan community in certain places, notably Delhi, from joining in the rejoicing, although throughout the country at large, the celebrations went on much as was to be expected. But the immediate activities of the anti-Peace Celebrations Committee proved only the beginning of a regular campaign in favour of the restoration of the Ottoman Empire to its full pre-war integrity. This propaganda was supported by many inaccurate and unhistorical statements, an endeavour being made to convince the Muslim community that the Commander of the Faithful was in danger of oppression at the hands of Christian powers. This impression was unfortunately strengthened by some unwise references to " crusades " which appeared in the home papers. Despite the efforts made by Government to secure an accurate appreciation of the facts of the Turkish situation, it has been difficult to prevent the Khalifat movement from producing an effect upon the masses. In a matter where religion is concerned, a foreign Government of different creed can hardly be expected to interfere with good effect. Every possible endeavour was made by the use of such machinery as existed for public information, to demonstrate that the issues involved were political and not religious. These efforts began to produce a marked effect after the close of the period under review, but during the last few weeks of 1919, the feeling of the Mussalmans, combined with the movement of support contributed by certain Hindu leaders introduced a complicating factor into the Indian situation. Certain Muslim leaders of advanced views not excluding some who were released under the Amnesty

Muslims and Peace Celebrations.

The Khalifat agitation.

to which reference will be made later, distinguished themselves by the extraordinary violence of their speeches, contributing not a little to the atmosphere of general uneasiness. It was therefore in a somewhat electrical atmosphere that the preparations for the 1919 session of the Indian National Congress were made. The site was fixed at Amritsar, with the idea of focussing attentoin upon the Punjab troubles. And as was the case last year, the same place was also fixed for the session of the Muslim League. Certain of the more conservative Muhammadans attempted to break away from the powerful influence of the congress by proposing to hold the session elsewhere; but in face of the opposition of extreme Muhammadan leaders nothing definite came of the attempt. Great efforts were made by the Congress and Muslim League party to secure the adherence of the Moderates. But the latter, although they were quite prepared to join with the Nationalists in expressing their condemnation of the methods employed to restore order in the Punjab, were not prepared to take the same view of Government's criminality, nor were they prepared to demand the recall of Lord Chelmsford—a cry to which additional stimulus had been given by the stir arising from the sittings of the Hunter Committee. But the real difference between the Moderates and the Extreme Nationalists at the close of the year 1919, was as at the beginning of that year the attitude displayed by each party towards the reforms. While the Moderates welcomed the reforms in their revised shape, and were prepared heartily to co-operate in making them a success, the Nationalists were undecided as to whether they should refuse to have anything to do with them or whether they should attempt to gain such a position of influence in the reformed councils that they might, through a policy of deliberate obstruction, secure the breakdown of the proposed reforms and a reconsideration of the whole question. Nationalist speakers all over the country enunciated sentiments of the most uncompromising kind. The reforms were condemned as "the contemptible device of a bankrupt statesman" and other phrases, no less strong, were applied to those who were considered responsible for the final shape the scheme had assumed. Gradually Extreme Nationalist opinion hardened in favour of securing whatever power the reforms scheme might yield to the party, with the expressed intention of using that power to secure breakdown and deadlock. The Moderates, as was apparent from their press, felt that no good purpose would be achieved by any attempt to gloss over the differences in aim and outlook which separated them from the extreme Nationalists. Officially they refused to accept the invitation to the Indian National Congress, although they did not request individual members of their party to refrain from attending the Amritsar

The 1919 Congress.

Extreme Nationalists and Moderates.

session if they desired to do so. But they arranged to hold their own conference at Calcutta almost at the same time. In striking contrast to the nationalists who were very largely occupied by a consideration of past grievances, the Moderates concerned themselves with the formulation of a constructive programme of party activity.

On the very eve of the session of the Indian National Congress appeared the Royal Proclamation signifying the assent to the Reform Bill. This is one of the most impressive declarations ever issued in the history of the connection between India and England. After sympathetically surveying the growth of Indian aspirations towards representative institutions, His Majesty acclaimed the reform scheme as a definite step on the road towards responsible Government. The proclamation runs as follows :—

BY THE KING-EMPEROR.

A Royal Proclamation.

"GEORGE V, by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the seas, King Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India. To my Viceroy and Governor-General, to the Princes of Indian States, and to all my subjects in India, of whatsoever race or creed, greeting.

"1. Another epoch has been reached to-day in the annals of India. I have given my Royal Assent to an Act which will take its place among the great historic measures passed by the Parliament of this Realm for the better government of India and for the greater contentment of her people. The Acts of 1773 and 1784 were designed to establish a regular system of administration and justice under the Honourable East India Company. The Act of 1833 opened the door for Indians to public office and employment. The Act of 1858 transferred the administration from the Company to the Crown and laid the foundations of public life which exist in India to-day. The Act of 1861 sowed the seed of representative institutions, and the seed was quickened into life by the Act of 1909. The Act which has now become law entrusts the elected representatives of the people with a definite share in the Government and points the way to full responsible Government hereafter. If, as I confidently hope, the policy which this Act inaugurates should achieve its purpose, the results will be momentous in the story of human progress; and it is timely and fitting that I should

invite you to-day to consider the past and to join me in my hopes of the future.

" 2. Ever since the welfare of India was confided to us, it has been held as a sacred trust by Our Royal House and Line. In 1858 Queen Victoria of revered memory solemnly declared herself bound to her Indian subjects by the same obligations of duty as to all her other subjects; and she assured to them religious freedom and the equal and impartial protection of the law. In his message to the Indian people in 1903 my dear father, King Edward VII, announced his determination to maintain unimpaired the same principles of humane and equitable administration. Again in his Proclamation of 1908 he renewed the assurances which had been given 50 years before and surveyed the progress which they had inspired. On my accession to the throne in 1910 I sent a message to the Princes and peoples of India acknowledging their loyalty and homage and promising that the prosperity and happiness of India should always be to me of the highest interest and concern. In the following year I visited India with the Queen-Empress and testified my sympathy for her people and my desire for their well-being.

" 3. While these are the sentiments of affection and devotion by which I and my predecessors have been animated, the Parliament and the people of this Realm and my officers in India have been equally zealous for the moral and material advancement of India. We have endeavoured to give to her people the many blessings which Providence has bestowed upon ourselves. But there is one gift which yet remains and without which the progress of a country cannot be consummated—the right of her people to direct her affairs and safeguard her interests. The defence of India against foreign aggression is a duty of common Imperial interest and pride. The control of her domestic concerns is a burden which India may legitimately aspire to take upon her own shoulders. The burden is too heavy to be borne in full until time and experience have brought the necessary strength; but opportunity will now be given for experience to grow and for responsibility to increase with the capacity for its fulfilment.

" 4. I have watched with understanding and sympathy the growing desire of my Indian people for representative institutions. Starting from small beginnings this ambition has steadily strengthened its hold upon the intelligence of the country. It has pursued its course along constitutional channels

with sincerity and courage. It has survived the discredit which at times and in places lawless men sought to cast upon it by acts of violence committed under the guise of patriotism. It has been stirred to more vigorous life by the ideals for which the British Commonwealth fought in the Great War, and it claims support in the part which India has taken in our common struggles, anxiety and victories. In truth, the desire after political responsibility has its source at the roots of the British connection with India. It has sprung inevitably from the deeper and wider studies of human thought and history which that connection has opened to the Indian people. Without it the work of the British in India would have been incomplete. It was therefore with a wise judgment that the beginnings of representative institutions were laid many years ago. Their scope has been extended stage by stage until there now lies before us a definite step on the road to responsible Government.

"5. With the same sympathy and with redoubled interest I shall watch the progress along this road. The path will not be easy and in the march towards the goal there will be need of perseverance and of mutual forbearance between all sections and races of my people in India. I am confident that those high qualities will be forthcoming. I rely on the new popular assemblies to interpret wisely the wishes of those whom they represent and not to forget the interests of the masses who cannot yet be admitted to franchise. I rely on the leaders of the people, the Ministers of the future, to face responsibility and endure misrepresentation, to sacrifice much for the common interest of the State, remembering that true patriotism transcends party and communal boundaries and, while retaining the confidence of the legislatures, to co-operate with my officers for the common good in sinking unessential differences and in maintaining the essential standards of a just and generous government. Equally do I rely upon my officers to respect their new colleagues and to work with them in harmony and kindliness; to assist the people and their representatives in an orderly advance towards free institutions; and to find in these new tasks a fresh opportunity to fulfil, as in the past, their highest purpose of faithful service to my people.

"6. It is my earnest desire at this time that so far as possible any trace of bitterness between my people and those who are

responsible for my government should be obliterated. Let those who in their eagerness for political progress have broken the law in the past respect it in the future. Let it become possible for those who are charged with the maintenance of peaceful and orderly government to forget the extravagances which they have had to curb. A new era is opening. Let it begin with a common determination among my people and my officers to work together for a common purpose. I therefore direct my Viceroy to exercise in my name and on my behalf my Royal clemency to political offenders in the fullest measure which in his judgment is compatible with the public safety. I desire him to extend it on this condition to persons who for offences against the State or under any special or emergency legislation are suffering imprisonment or restrictions upon their liberty. I trust that this leniency will be justified by the future conduct of those whom it benefits, and that all my subjects will so demean themselves as to render it unnecessary to enforce the laws for such offences hereafter.

"7. Simultaneously with the new constitutions in British India I have gladly assented to the establishment of a Chamber of Princes. I trust that its counsel may be fruitful of lasting good to the Princes and the States themselves, may advance the interests which are common to their territories and to British India, and may be to the advantage of the Empire as a whole. I take the occasion again to assure the Princes of India of my determination ever to maintain unimpaired their privileges, rights and dignities.

"8. It is my intention to send my dear son, the Prince of Wales, to India next winter to inaugurate on my behalf the new Chamber of Princes and the new constitutions in British India. May he find mutual good will and confidence prevailing among those on whom will rest the future service of the country, so that success may crown their labours, and progressive enlightenment attend their administration. And, with all my people, I pray to Almighty God that by His Wisdom and under His guidance India may be led to greater prosperity and contentment, and may grow to the fullness of political freedom."

The effect of the issue of this document was profound. Among the common people it was hailed with delight as a personal act of clemency

on the part of the Emperor. Nor was it without a powerful influence upon the educated classes. The moderate party saw in it a proof that the fruit of their constitutional endeavours towards representative institutions was now ripe, and such veteran politicians as Mrs. Besant and Mr. Surendranath Banerjea enthusiastically declared that India was now "free." The proclamation of clemency towards persons guilty of offences against the State was a matter of particular congratulation to the politically minded classes in India. This proclamation indeed set the coping stone upon a policy which had for some time previously been pursued by Government. During the course of the year 1919 no fewer than 538 persons had been released by the Government of Bengal from the restrictions which had been imposed upon them under the regulations or special war legislation. The same policy had been pursued in the Punjab, where in the same period, 534 persons had been released, prior to His Majesty's proclamation, from similar restrictions. At the same time the sentences of the Martial Law Tribunals and Commissions established during the summer of 1919 in connection with the disturbances were submitted to revision and very generous remissions were granted. Nearly 250 persons were released by the Punjab Government prior to the amnesty. The remaining sentences imposed by summary courts and some of the sentences imposed by Martial Law Commissions were under examination by two judges especially appointed for the purpose, at the time of His Majesty's proclamation. The powers of release were stimulated by this gracious command and eventually all but 96 out of a total of nearly 1,800 persons convicted in the disturbances were released in the Punjab; in Bombay 72 persons were released and 19 sentences were reduced; and in Delhi all but two had their sentences reduced or were unconditionally released. Under the amnesty, restraints imposed upon political prisoners were removed in every province in India, with the result that at the present only a comparatively few are still subject to restrictions. The total number of persons who benefited by the amnesty exceeded 1,300.

Clemency Prior to the Amnesty.

Clemency under the Amnesty.

The declaration of Government's policy towards the new reforms and the gracious message of His Majesty the King displayed on the part of the English administrators a desire for co-operation which the moderates were quite ready to appreciate. In the conference at Calcutta, the speeches delivered revealed an earnest desire to join hands with Government in making the reforms a success and a determination, full of promise for the future, to formulate definite programmes and considered policy for the guidance of the party.

Attitude of the Moderates.

The attitude of the Extreme Nationalists.

Upon the extreme Nationalists the effect produced by the proclamation was not immediately visible. The speeches delivered at Amritsar displayed a violence which was unprecedented. The very persons who had benefited by the Amnesty showed themselves most prominent in denouncing the motives and policy of the administration. Strongly worded resolutions condemning Government's action in the Punjab were brought forward and this in view of the appeal of co-operation which had been made by His Majesty the King was very unfortunate. A motion for the recall of Lord Chelmsford was carried as was also the condemnation of the reform scheme as "disappointing and unsatisfactory." The speech of the President who took as his text the Extremist view of the Punjab disturbances was a long attack upon British policy, combined with a belittlement of the benefits of the approaching reforms. This and other speeches delivered too often revealed an outlook which was so un-responsive to the spirit of the new era as to fill the reader with considerable apprehension as to the future policy of the extreme Nationalists. It might well seem that the entire Congress party is in some danger of drifting into an extreme attitude, not merely in regard to the reforms but also in regard to the whole relationship of India towards the British Commonwealth. It is devoutly to be hoped that this will not take place; for the enthusiasm of the younger members of that party, their receptivity to generous ideals and their realization of the necessity for sacrifice in the cause of political and social progress, constitute a driving force of great potential value to India. It is to be hoped that with the new opportunities for solid work in the national cause which the reforms will furnish, the extreme Nationalist party will find it possible to co-operate enthusiastically in hastening the progress of India along the road leading to responsibility.

It should be noticed that one symptom of the change which is coming over the administration of India has been the appointment, during the period under review of two important committees, the investigations of which will contribute not a little to facilitate the working of the new reforms. With one of these, the Army in India Committee, we have already dealt; and it is only necessary here to say that upon the well-being of the Indian Army, and its capacity to relieve the country of the strain of invasion and disorder during the first critical years of the great experiment now to be undertaken, the future of India will largely depend. The other committee was appointed under the presidency of Sir Herbert Llewellyn Smith, permanent Secretary of the Board of Trade, to enquire into the organisation and procedure of the Civil Secretariat with the object of facilitating despatch of business and the introduction of an improved system of co-ordination between the

different departments. The utility of such an investigation can hardly be overestimated and the report of the committee is awaited at the moment of writing with great interest.

Thus after all the political anxieties of the year the period under review may well be said to close with a message of hope. The era of reform is opening to India; those who at present control her administration have fully and frankly invited the co-operation of Indian leaders in making the reforms a success. It is now for Indians to show by hard work that they possess the qualities which have so often been claimed for them—public spirit, self-sacrifice, capacity for adapting themselves to new political conditions.

CHAPTER III.

The Economic Life of India.

India's payments in England.

By way of introduction to the history of India's economic life during the period under review, it will be necessary in the first place to indicate some of the general conditions in accordance with which the finances of the country are regulated. Firstly India being still, in the main, a land of agriculturists, 70 per cent. of the population being dependent for their livelihood upon the produce of the soil, the Indian revenues are largely influenced by the character of the season. Secondly, India normally has large commitments in London, in payment for which a sum averaging about 20 millions sterling a year has to be remitted to England. The most important of these series is interest on capital which has been lent to India for the purpose of internal development, capital in most cases borrowed at the very low rate of 3½ per cent. and now through its investment in railways, canals and other public works, bringing in to the Indian exchequer a return of nearly 7 per cent. Other items are payment for Government stores, of a kind which hitherto have not been obtainable in India; and for the salaries and pensions of civil servants who are on leave or who have retired. From this source also the India Office in London is maintained; although as a result of the approaching reform, the India Office charges, in so far as they are not agency charges pure and simple, will fall from henceforth upon the British exchequer. Now in order to keep himself in funds to meet these home charges, the Secretary of State sells drafts upon the Indian treasuries known as Council Bills. Thirdly, it should be remembered the currency of India is rupees and rupee notes with, before the war, a considerable circulation of sovereigns. In order to maintain the gold exchange value of this silver currency in times of pressure, there has been built up a large sterling reserve, known as the gold standard reserve, held for the most part in London. Finally mention must be made of the fact that the budget of the Government of India includes also the transactions of the Local Governments, the revenue enjoyed by the latter being mainly derived from sources of income which are shared between the Government of India and themselves. Broadly speaking, certain heads of revenue, such as the land revenue, excise, stamps, income-tax, and the profits from productive irrigation works, are divided between the provincial and the central Governments. On

Central and Provincial Revenues.

the other hand, the provincial Governments take the receipts from forests, registration, and ordinary public works, as well as from police, education, medical services, courts and jails. The Government of India takes the revenue from opium, salt, customs, mints, railways, posts and telegraphs, military receipts, and tributes from the Indian States. From these incomings the Government of India is responsible for defence charges, for the upkeep of railways, posts and telegraphs, for the payment of interest on debt, and for the home charges. From the provincial incomings are met expenses connected with land revenue and general administration, with forests, police, courts and jails, with education, and with medical services. Charges for irrigation and ordinary public works are common to both the central and the provincial Governments. It must also be remembered that a very large proportion of the Government of India's revenue is derived not from taxation at all but from such sources as land revenue, opium, railways, forests, and irrigation.

The above sketch, it must be clearly understood, represents a condition of affairs destined shortly to disappear with the introduction of the reforms. In the future, there will be a clear cut line between " Imperial " and provincial finances ; and the present system under which provinces receive considerable assistance from the purse of the central Government for special purposes, is likely to be reversed. The deficit in " Imperial " revenue will now be made good by contributions from the provinces and not *vice versâ*.

The Currency Position.

In last year's report mention was made of the strain to which the Indian financial system had been exposed by the years of warfare. During the period under review, this strain had to a large extent passed away. The currency position which was described last year has fortunately lost much of its seriousness. In the year 1918-19, as was pointed out in last year's report, the total absorption of silver coin by the public amounted to some £31 millions ; while in the year under review, the absorption between April 1919 and February 1920 has been only about £14 millions. Besides this curtailment of absorption during the period, there was witnessed in September 1919, for the first time for two years, the comforting phenomenon of a nominal return of currency from circulation. This substantial slackening in India's demand for silver may well be regarded with satisfaction. The stocks of rupees have steadily increased, until at the end of October 1919 they reached their maximum of more than £20 million—the highest figure since 1915. Coupled with this there has been a very decided diminution of the discount at which currency notes have circulated in the districts, combined with a very rapid expansion in the country's readiness and capacity to utilize paper money. On the 31st of March 1918, the gross circulation of currency notes was

General Statement of the Revenue and Expenditure charged to Revenue, of the Government of India, in India and in England.

REVENUE.

—	Accounts, 1917-18.	Revised Estimate, 1918-19.	Budget Estimate, 1919-20.
	£	£	£
Principal Head of Revenue—			
Land Revenue	21,607,246	20,805,900	22,686,400
Opium	3,078,903	3,229,000	3,056,200
Salt	5,499,487	4,216,300	3,914,300
Stamps	5,727,522	5,916,500	6,097,100
Excise	10,161,706	11,567,900	12,153,300
Customs	11,036,588	12,403,200	13,352,400
Income Tax	6,308,104	7,320,800	13,554,900
Other Heads	2,885,177	4,088,000	4,568,900
TOTAL PRINCIPAL HEADS	67,304,733	69,547,600	70,383,500
Interest	2,170,108	3,842,900	3,637,400
Posts and Telegraphs	4,616,690	5,322,900	5,716,800
Mint	517,401	1,676,800	1,356,500
Receipts by Civil Departments	1,935,364	2,086,600	1,957,500
Miscellaneous	4,868,356	5,924,300	2,557,400
Railways: Net Receipts	24,141,708	25,347,400	21,372,900
Irrigation	5,963,879	5,402,200	5,511,900
Other Public Works	323,599	321,900	323,000
Military Receipts	1,720,509	1,713,600	1,587,300
TOTAL REVENUE	112,662,347	121,186,200	123,404,200

General Statement of the Revenue and Expenditure charged to Revenue, of the Government of India, in India and in England—contd.

EXPENDITURE.

	Accounts, 1917-18.	Revised Estimate, 1918-19.	Budget Estimate, 1919-20.
	£	£	£
Direct Demands on the Revenues	9,854,695	11,669,900	11,293,300
Interest	7,328,169	7,866,600	7,763,500
Posts and Telegraphs	3,567,730	4,116,500	4,580,200
Mint	167,382	267,000	284,500
Salaries and Expenses of Civil Departments	20,855,368	24,233,500	24,549,100
Miscellaneous Civil Charges	5,918,707	6,257,400	6,139,100
Famine Relief and Insurance	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,789,100
Railways: Interest and Miscellaneous Charges	14,227,385	14,154,000	14,468,900
Irrigation	3,784,838	3,988,300	4,071,100
Other Public Works	5,048,294	5,582,100	6,932,700
Military Services	30,763,650	45,639,600	42,782,300
TOTAL EXPENDITURE, "IMPERIAL" AND PROVINCIAL.	102,516,218	124,774,900	124,653,800
Add—Provincial Surpluses: that is, portion of allotments to Provincial Governments not spent by them in the year.	2,256,623	1,091,000	...
Deduct—Provincial Deficits: that is, portion of Provincial Expenditure defrayed from Provincial Balances.	197,568	111,500	1,918,200
TOTAL EXPENDITURE CHARGED TO REVENUE	104,575,273	125,754,400	122,735,600
SURPLUS	8,087,074	—4,568,200	6,68,600
TOTAL	112,662,347	121,186,200	123,404,200

over £67 million. This figure increased steadily month by month until at the beginning of the year under review, it was more than 50 per cent. higher than at the commencement of the previous period. Even more striking was the growth in the average active circulation, which rose from £48 millions in 1917-18 to £76 millions in 1918-19.

Future Difficulties.

It would probably be rash to assume from these favourable symptoms that India has turned the corner and that her currency troubles are over. The increase in the stocks of rupees has been principally due to the fact that the output of the mints could at last overtake the issue. This result has been achieved, it should be noticed, at the expense of using up a great deal of the stock of bullion. As was mentioned in last year's report, in the course of the year 1918 the Indian currency system was only saved from a declaration of inconvertibility by the passing in America of the Pittman Act, which enabled India to procure 200 million ounces of silver from the United States. In the course of the summer of 1919 the last consignment of that silver arrived in India, and until there is some prospect of a regular replenishment of the stock of silver whenever it becomes necessary, it cannot be said that the anxiety of the financial authorities are over. In any case it is out of the question to contemplate any return to the free and unrestricted issue of rupees at district treasuries throughout the country.

Restoration of Confidence.

The slackening of the absorption of the precious metals by the Indian people is of considerable promise for the future. It perhaps marks the termination of that uneasiness, which, as a result of the war, operated to stimulate the practice of hoarding. As has frequently been pointed out, the insistence of the Indian agriculturists of payment in metal is not unreasonable in the light of the fact that such payment represents his capital and his wealth, and is protected against deterioration from climatic or other causes. Further, in the present condition of the banking facilities of India, it is almost impossible for the larger portion of the population to employ their savings in a productive manner. The importance of increasing the banking facilities of the country is becoming more and more clearly recognised; and with the industrial renaissance which is springing up in India, a considerable popular demand for such facilities may be expected before long. There are at present in all India only about 96 head offices of banks with 322 branches. The proportion of towns with a population of 10,000 and over in which banks and the branches are situated, is only 25 per cent.

Banking in India.

Furthermore, in 21 per cent. of the 75 towns possessing a population of over 50,000 there are no banks at all. A study of the map on the opposite page will show how extremely inadequate at present is the distribution of the

banking facilities in India; and this impression is confirmed when it is remembered how small a proportion of the total population inhabits towns. No lengthy proof is needed of the fact that until extensions are possible, the development of investment in India, with all the industrial expansion which that development alone will render possible, must be seriously hampered. The administration is fully aware of the importance of this matter; and during the period under review, a scheme for the amalgamation of the three Presidency Banks of Bengal, Bombay and Madras, into one Imperial Bank of India has taken shape. An essential feature of this scheme will be the establishment within five years of its inception of no less than 100 new branches in India. The Government of India is to have the right to decide as to the location of one in every four of the new branches. The potential importance of this scheme to India's industrial future is very great; for the concentration, resources and the unification of policy it will permit, must certainly facilitate the application of existing resources to their maximum advantage.

The future before the banking industry in India has been recognised by private enterprise. Mention was made last year of the foundation of the Tata Industrial Bank with its authorised capital of £8 millions. This probably represents the largest floatation of private capital in the history of banking. During the year under review, this example has been followed in other quarters; and mention may be made among other enterprises of the floatation of the Karnani Industrial Bank of Calcutta, with a capital of nearly £4 millions and of the Calcutta Indusrrial Bank, with a capital of nearly £1½ millions.

Exchange in 1919.

The sensational interest which attended the currency events of the year 1918, is transferred, during the period under review, to matters affecting exchange. It seems highly probable that when future text-books on the Indian system of finance come to be written, the year 1919 will, like the year 1893, stand out as marking the close of one well defined period and the commencing of another.

Mention was made in last year's report that at the close of the period then under review, the rate for Council Drafts stood at 1*s.* 6*d.* for a rupee for immediate telegraphic transfer; a fact which signified that the era of an exchange stabilised at 1*s.* 4*d.*, which had covered no less than a quarter of a century, had passed away. But the rise of exchange in its earlier stages gave little indication of the way in which it was to soar during the year 1919. As was explained last year, the rise inevitably followed the breaking away of the price of silver from its pre-war level. This process has been continued, and the further changes which have been made in the rates of Council Drafts have, as before, been dictated by the fear both of a loss on coinage, and also of the depletion of India's

silver currency by the premium on the export of rupees. This state of affairs was aggravated by the introduction of a new factor into the problem. In March 1919, the official support of the American exchange with England, which had originally been introduced as a war measure, was withdrawn. In consequence the dollar exchange, weighed down by the indebtedness of Europe to America and the balance of trade against her, commenced to fall. England had ceased to be the free gold market; and the pound sterling no longer fetched in exchange the four dollars and eighty-six cents which represented the equivalent of the gold sovereign. The dollar sterling exchange dropped steadily in the course of the succeeding months; with the result that the American price of silver ceased to be the sole factor in determining the rupee-sterling exchange. The rate at which India could acquire silver for coinage no longer depended entirely on the price of silver in dollars, but was also adversely affected by the smaller number of dollars that could be obtained for the pound sterling. Further, the American price of silver continued to rise until it passed the melting point of the dollar. The result of the low exchange value in America of the pound sterling, and the rapid rise in the American price of silver, was to necessitate the raising of the exchange value of the rupee. If this had not been done, India's silver coin would have been smuggled out of the country and her currency notes would have become inconvertible. In May 1919, the rate for Council Drafts which had remained stationary at 1*s.* 6*d.* for over a year advanced to 1*s.* 8*d.*, and this was followed by further rises in August, September, November and December until the rate stood at 2*s.* 4*d.*

Influence of Dollar-Sterling Exchange.

It is necessary to consider for a moment the effect exerted upon trade by these changes in the rates for Council Drafts. The rate for Council Drafts necessarily has a considerable influence on the rates at which export and import transactions are financed. The purchase of Council Bills enables the exchange banks to transfer back to India funds which otherwise would accumulate in England through the heavy excess in normal years of India's exports over her imports. An alternative method of thus transferring funds is afforded by the import of gold and silver. During the greater part of the current year the embargo on the import of silver has remained in force, but the import of gold has been permitted subject to acquisition by Government at rates notified from time to time. The variations in the rates of Council Drafts, and speculation as to further variations, have introduced an element of unstability into exchange which has at times hampered the freedom of business operations. And in order to counteract as far as possible these inconveniences, Council and sterling drafts have been offered for sale as freely as the

Effect on Trade.

resources of the Government in India or at home, as the case might be, have permitted. Generally speaking, throughout the year the rise in exchange tempted out remittances and checked bills, thus reducing the demand for Councils. This continued until the gradual decline of the dollar sterling exchange and the rise in the price of silver, which suggested that a further raising of the rate for Councils was due, had the reverse effect, making the demand for Councils more insistent. This see-saw motion continued until January 1920 when a reversal of the position occurred. The Currency Committee had just completed their sittings and their conclusions were awaited. The export trade at the time was not urgently calling for finance, and the uncertainty as to the future led a large number of remitters to take advantage of the 2*s.* 4*d.* rate then prevailing.

The Indian Currency Committee.

Although the report of the Currency Committee was not published until after the close of the period under review, it will be convenient to deal with it here as embodying the logical culmination of the exchange situation which characterised the year 1919. It will be sufficient to indicate the two outstanding features of the committee's recommendations. These are first, the linking of the rupee to gold; and secondly, the adoption of a ratio equivalent to one-tenth of the gold contents of the sovereign. In general, it may be said that there is unanimity of opinion as to the inevitable nature of the committee's conclusions on the first point. The whole of the Indian currency system has hitherto been based on the axiom that the unit of British currency, the pound sterling, could at all times purchase the amount of gold contained in the coin known as the sovereign. But the unfortunate divergence between the pound sterling and the amount of gold contained in the sovereign gave rise during the last summer to a set of conditions which rendered it imperative to supply the rupee with some foundation less shifting than the sterling to which it had hitherto been linked. If this had not been done, the rupee would share with the pound sterling all its fluctuations of fortune; and every rise in prices in the sterling using countries would communicate to India some shrinkage in the purchasing power of money. India would have shared with the United Kingdom all the evils of inflated prices. It would have been impossible to give any definite gold value to the rupee, and in particular, to know what amount of silver a rupee could purchase in America. On the other hand, the policy of linking the rupee to gold is not without certain disadvantages; for the rupee sterling exchange must now fluctuate in the same manner as does the dollar sterling exhange. This of course introduces an element of uncertainty into that large portion of the trade of India which is with sterling-using countries. But there can be no doubt that the economic interests of

Pros and Cons.

India's huge population can be better served by giving the rupee an absolute stability in gold than by giving it a fictitious stability relative to a standard which is itself markedly unstable. As regards the actual rate to be adopted for the ratio between the rupee and gold, fears have been expressed in some quarters that the rate of rupees ten to the gold contents of the sovereign is too high and may inflict injury upon India's export trade. This fear was carefully examined by the Currency Committee, but was outweighed by other considerations which were deemed more vital. It is unnecessary to repeat the reasons upon which the committee's conclusions were based; but it is interesting to note that there are two considerations bearing on the choice between a high and a low rate which may well outweigh all others. The first is that if the enormously high prices now prevailing in most foreign countries are to be brought into relation with Indian prices on an exchange basis for the rupee at anything like the old level of 1*s.* 4*d.*, the consequences to the masses of India would be little short of disastrous. Not only would the present level of internal prices be stereotyped beyond the hope of reduction, but worse still it would probably advance to heights even now unthought of. Considering the many millions of consumers there are in India whose margin of subsistence is at best none too wide, it may well appear that the interests of this class must be preferred to those of any other. In the next place a return to a low exchange would very seriously imperil all chances of maintaining the convertibility of the notes issued, and thereby precipitate a financial catastrophe of the very first magnitude. At rupees ten to the sovereign India can purchase silver and coin rupees up to an American price which is well above the melting point of the currency of almost every other country. In consequence, it will be possible to maintain an adequate backing of rupees for the notes issued, without danger that the coinage will be melted down or exported in large quantities.

Financial Position of India.

The general financial position of India is extremely strong. At the end of November 1919, the national debt amounted to about £378 millions, or about £1 11*s.* per head of population, as compared with a total public revenue of £123 millions. This favourable position is largely due to the care with which, in pre-war years, outlay was restricted to available means. When the war began, almost the whole of India's debt represented productive outlay on railways and irrigation, normally yielding a return which exceeded considerably not only interest on the amount borrowed, but also interest on the small debt classified as unproductive. In March 1919, despite India's war contribution of £100 millions, the amount of the ordinary debt outstanding was actually £13 millions less than the contribution itself. Nor are these the only facts indicative of India's financial strength. The interest on her public

debt is not only secured by the revenue from productive works, but is a charge on the public revenues as a whole. Examination shows that while the average revenue of the last six years has been £97 millions, the average expenditure has been only £95 millions.

The Excess Profits Tax.

Before leaving the financial history of the year 1919, mention must be made of a matter which excited considerable notice in the press, namely, the imposition of excess profits duty. It will be remembered that in September 1918, the Indian Legislative Council had adopted a resolution declaring that the prolongation of the war justified India's taking a larger share of the cost of the military forces raised within her borders. In order to provide some £6 millions of this extra expenditure, an Act was passed in the Delhi Session providing for the levy of an excess profits duty. Agricultural businesses, professional income and concerns already paying the excess profits duty in the United Kingdom were exempt from the operations of the Act. Machinery was provided for dealing with cases in which the levy of the tax might operate harshly. Applications for special treatment were received from various individual businesses or classes of businesses. The imposition of this levy caused a certain amount of outcry from the commercial community; but the care which was taken to obviate its harsh application resulted in the removal of all real objection. The estimated receipts from this source approximate very closely to the original figure of £6 million.

Economic Life of India in 1919.

During the whole course of the period under review, the dominant factor in the economic life of India has been the remarkable level attained by the prices of articles in common use. The rise in prices in India for all commodities, including the necessities of life, was of the most serious character. In the case of food grains, the prices generally rose by an average of 93 per cent. since the commencement of the war, while the increase in piece-goods was just under 190 per cent. for imported goods and just over 60 per cent. for Indian made goods. This remarkable rise in prices was due partly to world factors, and partly to factors peculiar to India. Since for some years past the principal nations of Europe have devoted their whole energies to the work of destruction instead of production, there has naturally been a world shortage of the necessaries of life. The intensive competition by belligerent countries for commodities of all kinds; the diversion of huge numbers of those formerly engaged in production to the army and supply services; and the creation of a huge additional volume of credit and currency to finance the war, have led to an enhanced cost of production of practically all commodities. These conditions were bound sooner or later to react on India, both by increasing the demand for her products, abroad, and by adding

High Prices.

to the cost of the articles she imports. The restrictions imposed on exports, partly by shortage of tonnage and partly by the deliberate action of Government, have combined to protect India in some degree from the worldrise; nevertheless, many of the causes which have led to a rise of prices in other countries have also operated to a similar, if lesser, extent, in India. In normal times the balance of trade in favour of India is adjusted by importing precious metal, which are used partly for hoarding, partly for ornaments and partly for expanding the currency, but as was noticed in last year's Report, the difficulty of obtaining gold and silver for Indian use led the Government of India to finance the export trade by issuing notes against their treasury bills held by the Secretary of State in London. The expansion of currency which thus took place suddenly accelerated the rise of prices. Another important factor in the Indian aspect of the problem was the difficulty of distribution owing to the shortage of rolling stock. This both accentuated the effect of local scarcity and created golden opportunities for the profiteer. But the most serious of all the factors in the Indian economic situation during the period under review was the remarkable failure of the monsoon.

Disastrous Effects of Monsoon Failure.

It was once remarked that all Indian finance really resolves itself into a gamble in rain. Since more than 70 per cent. of the population of India depend upon agriculture for its subsistence, the first requisite in determining the prosperity of the country is a favourable monsoon. Now in the year 1918-19, the average precipitation of rain over the whole of the plains of India in the monsoon period was 6·5 inches or 19 per cent. in defect. Normally, in India crop failures are only partial, and shortages in some parts of the country are offset by bountiful harvests in others. But in 1918-19 there was no province which did not suffer from a shortage of the monsoon either partial or complete, with the result that the crop failure of 1918-19 was one of the worst on record in the last decade. Coming as it did on a failure of the millet crops in the previous year, and at a time when prices had already begun to rise under the pressure of world causes, it produced effects which the best efforts of the administration could only palliate but not control. That India escaped disaster during the year 1919 must be ascribed principally to three factors; first to the margin of production over consumption which exists in a normal year, secondly to the stocks of foodstuffs existing in the country, and thirdly to a carefully organised system of Government control.

India's food production.

In a normal year, the total production of food-stuffs in India including Indian States may be estimated at somewhere near 80 million tons. Of the total amount of food production in a normal year, part goes into current consumption,

part is held in stock for purposes of seed and as a reserve. In times of scarcity, the country falls back on its reserve stocks and on the safety margin afforded by the surplus ordinarily exported. There is no means of ascertaining accurately the amount of reserve stocks held, but the safety margin afforded by the ordinarily exported surplus is not large. Investigation shows that, in marked contrast to popular belief in India, the net export of grain and pluse from India in the 10 years ending 1918 averaged less than 1·5 million tons per annum—roughly 2 per cent. and 2 per cent. only, of the estimated total outturn. There is reason to believe therefore that in the period of difficulty through which India has just passed, she has relied rather upon her food stocks than upon her exportable surplus ; although the action of the administration, which will be explained later, by converting the net export of 1·5 million tons into a net import of almost the same figures undoubtedly did very much to ease the situation. In 1918-19 the loss of production due to the failure of the rain may be put, at a conservative estimate, at not less than 20 million tons. Such proportion of this quantity as would normally have been required for consumption in India, had therefore to be made up in some way or other. Literally in the middle of the year, there were grave reasons for fearing that the stocks of food in the country simply would not suffice to go round. Fortunately for the country the main harvest of the two previous years had been particularly good. The rice and wheat crops of 1916-17 and 1917-18 were almost the biggest on record. The millet crops failed over large areas in 1917-18 but taking the harvest of 1916-17 and 1917-18 as a whole, it may be said with confidence that India's period of stress in 1918-19 succeeded two exceptionally good years.

Export of Food.

Although India did her best to provide food supplies for the Allies during the war, her exports were considerably below the pre-war standard. In the five years 1909-1910 to 1913-1914, the net exports of grain, pulse and flour from India proper, excluding Burma, amounted to 10·2 million tons ; while in the five years 1914-15 to 1918-19 the figures fell to 5·2 million tons. But with all this, the decrease of 20 million tons in the food crops of 1918-19 was a very serious matter. Mention has already been made in the last report of the appointment of a Food-stuffs Commissioner whose duty it was to restrict the export of food-stuffs and to control their distribution. Although the Government of India had undertaken to arrange a very large programme of wheat purchases for the Royal Commission on wheat supplies in 1918-19, it was found necessary to inform the Secretary of State in December 1918 that the Indian situation made it impossible for Government to agree to the resumption of purchases for export overseas.

Export of Food in War time.

Administrative Measures against Scarcity.

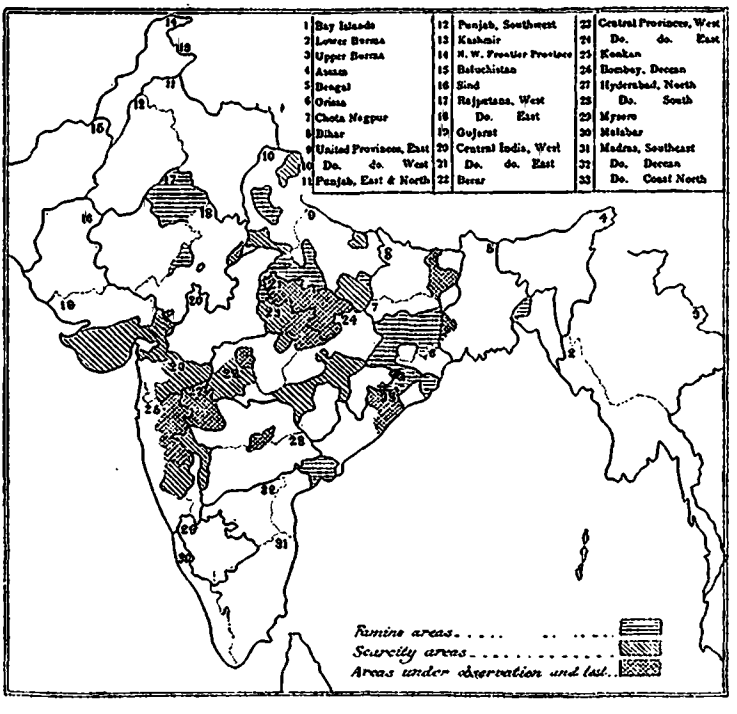
The export of rice on private account had already been prohibited, and the fact that the Royal Commission on Wheat Supply did not require a large quantity of Burma rice for which they had indented, enabled the Government of India to retain this rice for the purpose of relieving distress in India. A rigid supervision of export was undertaken with the result that in the first seven months of 1919, the exports of grain, pulse, and flour were reduced to under 62 thousand tons. As regards rice, the exports were reduced by 70 per cent. and of this more than two-thirds went from Burma. It was impossible to cut off entirely the exports of food grains from India, on account of the large Indian population which lives in certain colonies such as Ceylon, the Straits Settlements and Mauritius. There are many rice eating countries almost entirely dependent upon India for their food supplies; and among countries which for political reasons have a special claim on India, the balance of rice that remain after a preliminary estimate had been made of India's probable requirements, was divided up.

Besides conserving the supplies of food in India, the administration was able to supplement them by imports of wheat from Australia. The Royal Commission on Wheat Supply arranged the purchase and shipment of grain and wheat at a cost for India of something considerably below market rates. In this way 200,000 tons of Australian wheat were imported, the effect of which was undoubtedly to restore public confidence and to check the rise of wheat prices, which were soaring to dangerous heights.

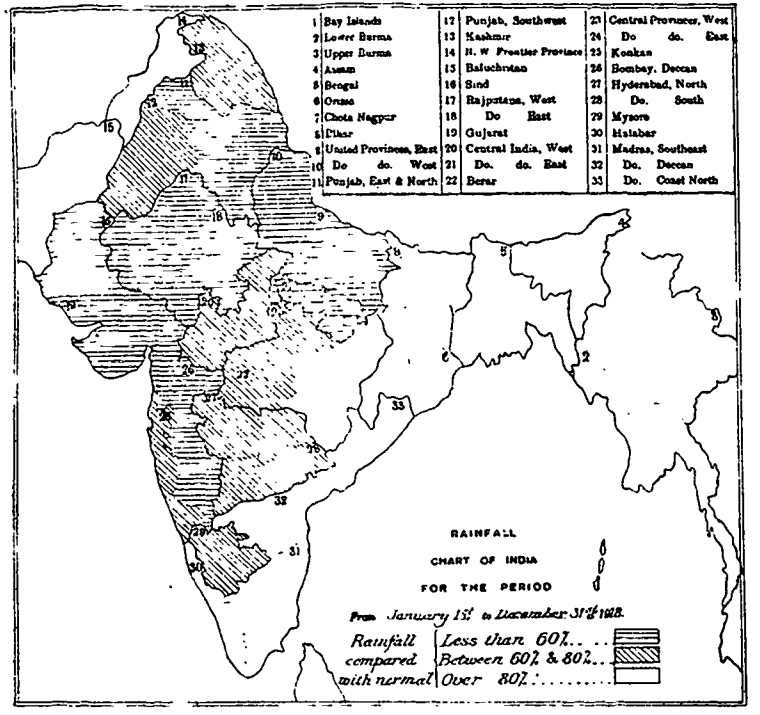
Difficulties confronting the Administration.

The situation called for the most decisive and drastic action on the part of Government. During the course of the year, either famine or scarcity was declared in parts of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, United Provinces, Rajputana, Central India, Central Provinces, Bombay, Hyderabad, and Madras. Prices of food grain reached a level never before touched. If the figures for July 1919 are compared with those of July 1914, it will be seen that in the case of rice, the rise ranged from 26 per cent. in Assam to 73 per cent. in the Central Provinces. In the case of wheat the lowest increase is 38 per cent. in Assam and the highest 100 in the Central Provinces. Even more serious was the case of millets, which are so largely consumed by the poorer classes. The increase in prices ranged from 102 per cent. in the United Provinces to 132 per cent. in Bombay. Under these circumstances, Government was obliged to introduce a rigid system of internal control, with the object of ensuring that surplus provinces were not drained by deficit provinces except in proportion to their relative requirements. The shortage of railway wagons and the increasing difficulty of transport, to which reference is made elsewhere, compelled the exercise of close control over the transit of food grains from province to province. By means of restrictions on

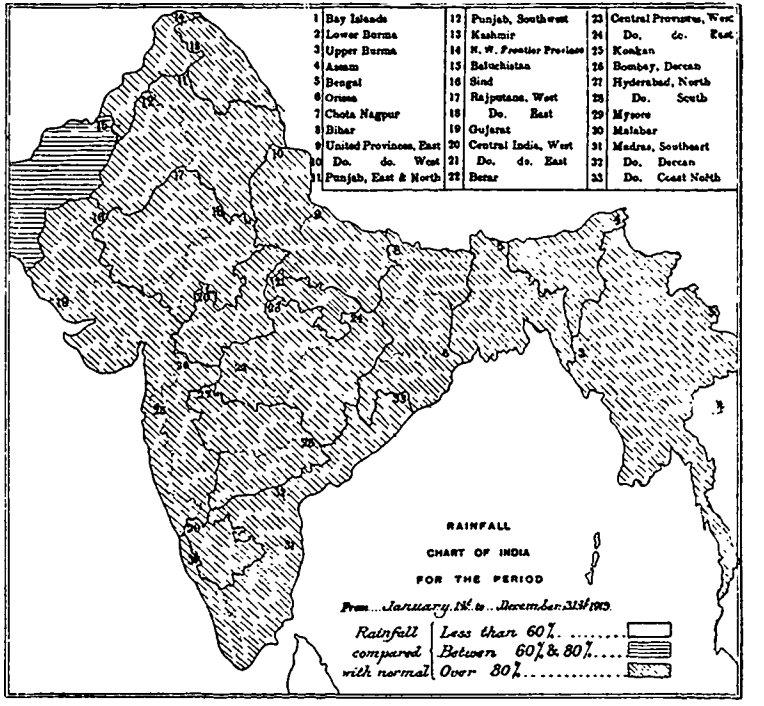
SCARCITY CHART OF INDIA 1919.



RAINFALL CHART OF INDIA 1918.



RAINFALL CHART OF INDIA 1919.



The above charts show the extent to which scarcity conditions in 1919 were dependent upon deficient rainfall in 1918.

export, price control has been enforced in Burma, with the object of enabling rice to be imported into India at a controlled price. Between the 1st January and the end of August 1919, India imported from Burma nearly 1·3 million tons of rice and 37,000 tons of paddy.

Effect upon the People.

Despite all that Government could do, these high prices and shortage of food caused the greatest distress and embarrassment in India. They have pressed most hardly on the poorer classes and on people living on small fixed incomes in the towns ; but the effect of them has been felt by every section of the community, as well as by Government and by other large employers of labour. It is perfectly true that the average rise in retail food prices in India has been far less than in other parts of the world. In Europe this rise has ranged from 86 per cent. in Denmark to 234 per cent. in Sweden, while in the United Kingdom notwithstanding food control, it was 107 per cent. But since the margin of subsistence in India is considerably lower than that of other countries, the poorer classes have suffered to a disproportionate degree. It is small comfort to them to be told that they have escaped more lightly than most people in the rest of the world, when their own sufferings have been very great. But the remarkable fact about this disastrous year has been the successful way in which the agricultural population has come through the stress. When famine and scarcity were declared in numerous areas, all the usual measures were taken. Liberal advances were given to cultivators, cheap grain shops were opened and every pains were taken to relieve distress. Grants in relief of distress from the Indian People's Famine Trust aggregated £47,000. But there was never any distress upon a scale which could not be dealt with in India. The inception of a fund in Toronto for the relief of distress was brought to the notice of Government ; but the announcements circulated by its promoters were wildly exaggerated, and travestied so grotesquely the conditions prevailing in India, that the Secretary of State, on behalf of the Government of India, declined to accept any assistance from this source. Remarkable though it may seem, the numbers on relief were never very large. Although the crop failure of 1918-19 was quite as bad as, if not worse than, the crop failure in 1900 the maximum number on relief at any one time in the year under review was under 600,000, while in the year 1900 it was no less than 6,000,000. Most fortunately the period of stress has now passed away with the excellent rains of 1919. At the conclusion of the year, all relief operations had practically ceased. But the general return of normal conditions was marred by a local calamity in September, when a large tract of Bengal was visited by a cyclone which caused extensive damage to life and property, necessitating liberal relief to the sufferers. On the whole, however, it may be said that the agricultural outlook is

Resistance of the population.

excellent almost everywhere in India, and all immediate difficulties as regards supplies are at an end. The railway position has improved, and the problem is no longer one of scarcity, but merely one of prices. Unfortunately, reserve stocks must now be so low that it will probably be a long time before grain becomes really cheap, and it is doubtful whether prices will ever return to their pre-war level. It has been decided to continue for sometime longer the embargo on the export of food grains from India. This measure has for long been held up in the press as a panacea for Indian food shortage. But there are obvious dangers in it. In the first place, as we have already seen, the proportion of the total crop which is exported in a normal year is extremely small.

Future Policy.

It may therefore be doubted whether the measure would for long be effective, save in the case of extreme emergency; and in the second place, there are many crops which seriously compete with food crops; and if the embargo is maintained too long, it will tend to drive the cultivator to grow other crops of which the export is not prohibited. This would mean that the safety margin afforded by the surplus food grain ordinarily exported would disappear.

It was not only food supplies which revealed a serious shortage in the year 1918-19. Mention was made in last year's report of the hardship caused to the poorer classes by the rise in the price of the cotton cloth so largely worn. Owing to the high price of raw cotton throughout the world and the high cost of manufacture, the dearness of cotton cloth pressed heavily upon the poorer classes in the year 1918. Government took powers to provide for the standardization in India of the cloths used by the poorer classes, and for their manufacture and distribution under control. The intention of the administration in providing for the manufacture of standard cloth was not to provide a " popular " cloth, but a cloth which would relieve the distress of the poorer classes. The announcement of Government's intention to take action in the matter caused a fall in price, but before long, the price of cloth again rose steadily, and the Cotton Cloth Advisory Committee decided to commence the standardization and arrange for the manufacture of cloth of two qualities. As a result of the operations controlled by them, more than twenty-two million yards of cloth were manufactured and distributed to provinces. But to get such a cloth to the poorer classes needed organization to an extent which was not realized at the outset. As operations progressed, it became clear, that the poorer classes for whom all along standard cloth was intended, would readily buy if it were sent out to them, but they would not come to public offices to purchase it. The reason for their reluctance was either dislike of leaving the

High Price of Cotton Cloth.

Supply of Standard Cloth.

homes or ignorance of their own interests. A further obstacle was the inherent conservatism which led them to prefer a dearer cloth to which they were accustomed to a cheaper cloth with which they were not familiar. From several provinces it was reported that the standard cloth, which was on the whole a satisfactory article, would have found a readier sale if it had been more heavily sized ; for it appeared that in certain places the classes for whom it was intended are so negligent of their real interests that they prefer a cloth which is composed in very large measure of size rather than of yarn, merely because it looks more attractive in the first instance, though it loses its appearance as soon as it is washed. It was not realised to what an extent conservatism and fashion would hinder the sale of standard cloth. It appeared, despite the many complaints in the press as to the hardships caused by the utter inability of the poorer classes to obtain cloth for their requirements, that these classes were quite willing to pay more than the standard cloth cost them for a cloth more closely woven, if they could have obtained it for anything like a reasonable figure. But there can be no doubt that the efforts of the administration were successful not merely in relieving a considerable amount of distress, but also in steadying the prices of non-controlled cloth.

Economic restlessness.

As may well be imagined, the rise in prices of the necessities of life produced its inevitable effect in economic restlessness during the period under review. During the year 1919, a great stimulus was afforded to the organisation of labour in India. In Madras, labour unions had been constituted since early in 1918, and regular meetings were held under the leadership of numbers of the educated classes. In the course of the period under review, postmen, telegraphists, railway workers, millhands, and other representatives of Indian labour, formed themselves into associations for the protection or enforcement of their rights.

Strikes.

Throughout the year 1919, the discontent of industrial workers revealed itself in strikes, and serious dislocations of industry occurred from time to time. Railway employees on several of the great lines of India considered it necessary to suspend work on several occasions in order to obtain an increase of wages. In May a certain amount of public attention was directed to a strike of the Calcutta postmen. Most of the men resumed work after about a week, and there was not very much public sympathy with them, on account of the general impression abroad that the strikers were attempting to take advantage of the importance of their work to the community. Towards the end of the year, there was a fresh recrudescence of serious strikes. In November, some 15,000 men employed in the Cawnpore mills went on strike, maintaining that they were badly hit by the unprecedented rise in prices and that their

wages were insufficient for their subsistence. It is interesting to note that the various mills in Cawnpore have made extremely generous provision for their workers, and the strike cannot in any way be regarded as having been provoked by the unsympathetic attitude on the part of the employers.

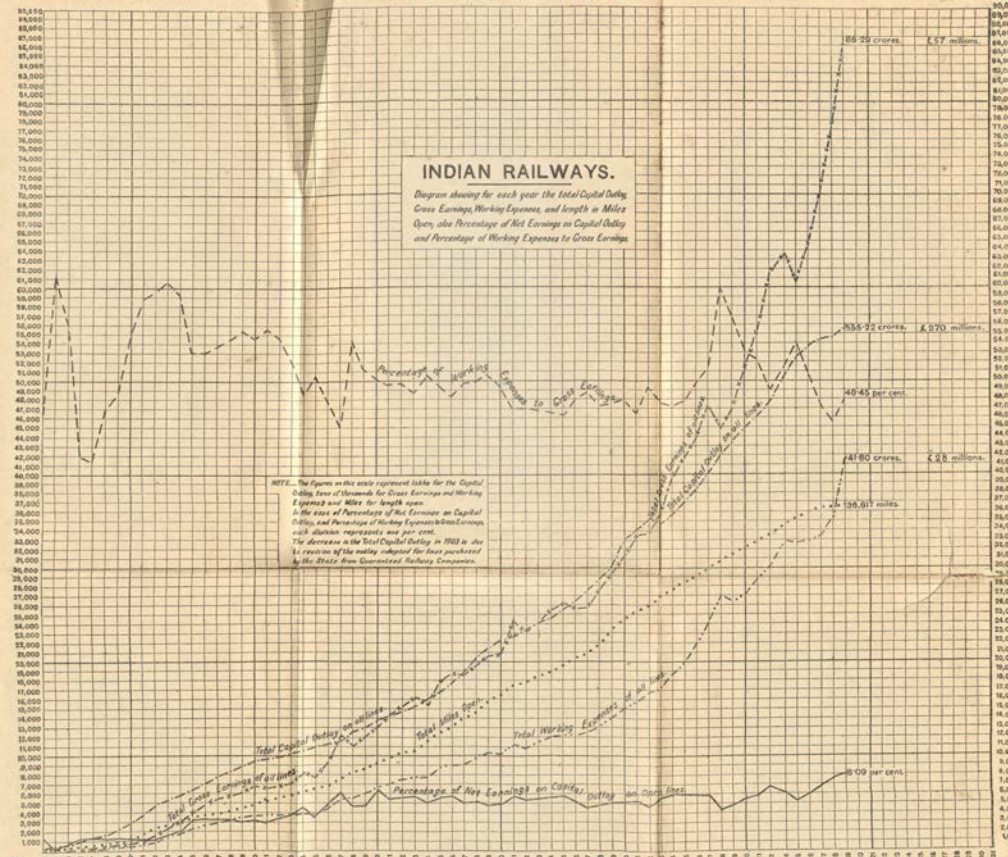
Changing conditions.

The fact is, the economic condition of India, in common with the rest of the civilised world, is undergoing a profound change, to which all employers of labour, Government included, must now adapt themselves. Many an increase of wages which looks generous on paper, proves in fact to have little influence in easing the hard lot of the labourer. And the labourer, in India as elsewhere, is beginning to demand more from his employers than good wages by themselves can supply. He now wants better working conditions, more leisure, increased opportunities for bettering himself. Neither private employers nor Government is blind to this development; and the problem of providing large numbers of poorly paid employees with a decent living wage is engaging the anxious attention both of the central and of the provincial administrations. It is clearly perceived that no time must be lost in giving effect to this most urgent and pressing reform, upon which not merely industrial development of the future, but peaceful progress in the present, virtually rest.

New Developments.

The new developments in the world of Indian labour have naturally manifested themselves most clearly in the great centres of industry. In Bombay, the course of the labour movement during the period under review has been extremely interesting. Housing conditions are so notoriously bad that the local government is now convinced of the necessity for vigorous action; and although wages are high, the life of the industrial hand is an unenviable one. In December 1919 a conference of Bombay mill-hands was held when delegates from about 75 mills were present. They put forward an ordered programme of their demands comprising a reduction in the duration of labour, and an increase in the recess leisure, compulsory education of their children, provident fund and co-operative credit societies for the benefit of the workers. They also appealed to the Governor of Bombay to appoint a commission to enquire into the conditions of mill operatives, with the object of fixing a minimum wage. As fitting recognition of her entry into the industrial world, India was represented at the International Labour Conference held in Washington on October 30th but the difference in conditions which distinguished Indian Labour from that of Western count riesled to the decision that it was not easy to devise a detailed programme of improvement which would be equally applicable to both. The main conventions of factory policy adopted do not, however, seem difficult to adopt consisting as they do in a maximum 60 hour week, the prohibition of night work

RAILWAY DIAGRAM I.


INDIAN RAILWAYS.
Diagram showing for each year the total Capital Outlay, Gross Earnings, Working Expenses, and length in Miles Open, also Percentage of Net Earnings on Capital Outlay and Percentage of Working Expenses to Gross Earnings.
NOTE.—The figures on this scale represent lakhs for the Capital Outlay, Rate of Thousands for Gross Earnings and Working Expenses and Miles for length open.
In the case of Percentage of Net Earnings on Capital Outlay, and Percentage of Working Expenses to Gross Earnings, each division represents one per cent.
The decrease in the Total Capital Outlay in 1903 is due to revision of the outlay adopted for lines purchased by the State from Guaranteed Railway Companies.
£57 millions.
£870 millions.
£28 millions.
55·22 crores.
48·45 per cent.
41·80 crores.
36,617 miles.
8·09 per cent.
Total Capital Outlay on all lines.
Total Gross Earnings of all lines.
Total Miles Open.
Total Working Expenses of all lines.
Percentage of Working Expenses to Gross Earnings.
Percentage of Net Earnings on Capital Outlay on open lines.
YEARS

for women, the raising of the age minimum for children from 9 to 12 years, and the extension of the meaning of the term "factory" to an institution using power and employing as few as ten workers. The importance of the whole question of improving the conditions of Indian labour was emphasised in the Report of the recent Indian Industrial Commission, and Government have since given it most earnest attention. Enquiries have for some time been on foot to decide in what directions immediate reform is possible, especially in the direction of revised factory legislation and improved housing of workers. Agricultural labourers have shared the tendency of industrial workers in the town to organize themselves for the betterment of their conditions.

Importance of Communications in India.

It will be plain that the internal conditions of India, outlined in the preceding pages, have combined to place a very heavy strain upon the system of communication. Of that strain, the brunt has been borne by the railway system. In last year's report, we noticed the difficulty against which the railways have been struggling since the outbreak of war. During the last five years, their capacity has been severely taxed to carry supplies and stores for overseas, munitions and other traffic essential for the prosecution of the war. Indeed, at one period, the point had been reached at which this preferential traffic including coal occupied 80 per cent. of the total rolling-stock. Moreover, while the tendency of traffic has been to increase rather than to diminish, the capacity of the railways to handle that traffic has been increasingly impaired. Locomotives, rolling-stock and railway materials have been supplied to Mesopotamia and other theatres of war; great difficulty has been experienced in obtaining from home even material essential for the upkeep of existing services; and the task of handling a constantly increasing volume of traffic has been complicated by depletion of the supervising staff. In last year's report, we saw that in 1918 it had become necessary to appoint Directors of Supplies, empowered to grant certificates in respect of articles required on civil acount, which gave priority for those articles over ordinary uncertificated traffic. As a result of the Delhi Conference in 1918, a Communications Board was started to co-ordinate the requirements of traffic and the facilities available for their discharge. During the period under review, although war conditions passed away, it was found necessary to maintain the system of traffic control. The importance indeed of the function performed by the railways in the economic crisis through which India has recently passed, can with difficulty be over-estimated. Traffic regulation was the essential feature of the system of food control initiated by the Government of India, and although private trade was necessarily hampered

Railways and the War.

Traffic Control.

to a considerable degree, there can be no doubt that the railways were utilized for national needs in a manner more efficient than would have been possible had no such control existed. It is hardly too much to say that the Indian railways alone stood between the country and the horrors of famine during an appreciable period of the year under review.

Railway diagram II.

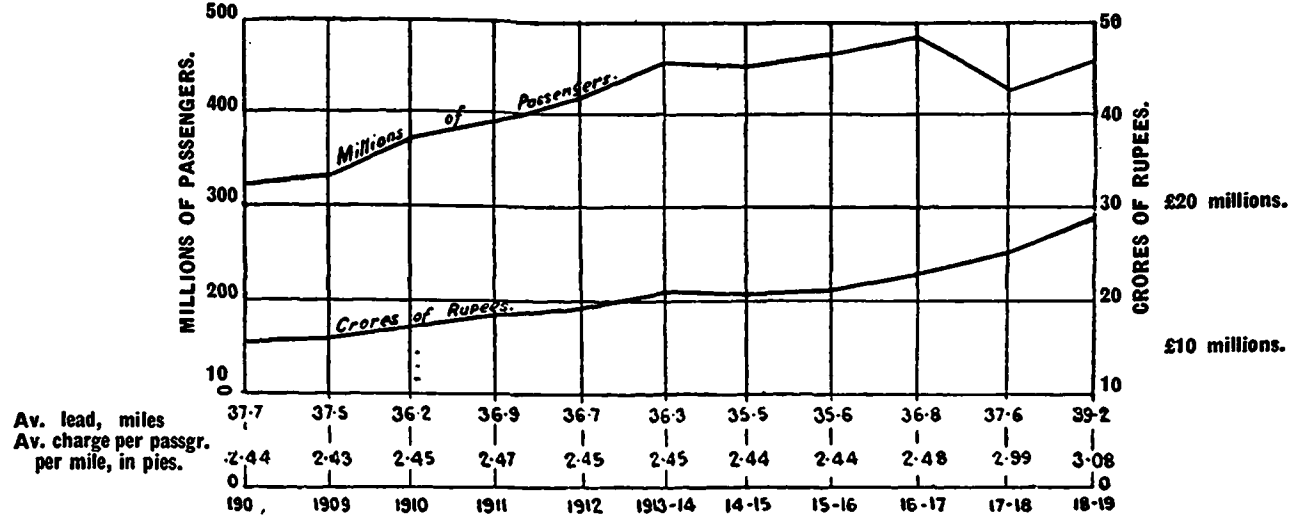
But it is not only in times of stress that India's railway system is a leading factor in her domestic economy. The importance of Indian railways to the normal economic life of the country will be apparent from a study of the diagram on the opposite page. During the year 1918-19, the gross earnings of State and non-State lines amounted to more than £57 millions sterling. The net working profit from State Railways alone, after meeting the interest and other miscellaneous charges, amounted to the record figure of £10·9 million. The substantial improvement over the year 1917-18 is attributable mainly to the increase in the quantity of food-stuffs handled and in railway coal traffic. The rapid annual increase in the gross earnings of all railways since 1914-15, affords some measure of the work which has been performed by the railway staff.

Continued difficulties.

As was inevitable, the period covered by this report has witnessed a progressive increase in the difficulties of railway administration. The stock of material on which railways depend for their existence has been gradually exhausted, and had the war continued for another year the effect on the general standard of railway service would have been even more serious. From the commencement of hostilities, it has been the endeavour of the railways to carry on without making demands on the United Kingdom which were likely to cause embarrassment in munitions manufacture. But in 1918, it had become imperative to urge the supply of one hundred locomotives and five thousand wagons for the broad guage railways. The sudden end to hostilities in Europe did not find the railways unprepared, for from 1916 onwards they have been compiling in order of urgency, and keeping up-to-date, indents of their requirements from the United Kingdom for a period of three years after the war. The home authorities were thus enabled to take action at once towards securing the supplies of which Indian railways were most in need. During the year under review, it was found necessary to embark upon a course of heavy expenditure in order to repair the tremendous wastage of the war period, and to recover some of the ground lost. During the period of the war, expenditure had to be reduced to minimum, not only for financial reasons, but also, as has already been noted, because of the difficulty in obtaining the necessary supply of material. With the idea of making good the deficiencies in rolling-stock equipment, which are now becoming increasingly

RAILWAY DIAGRAM II.

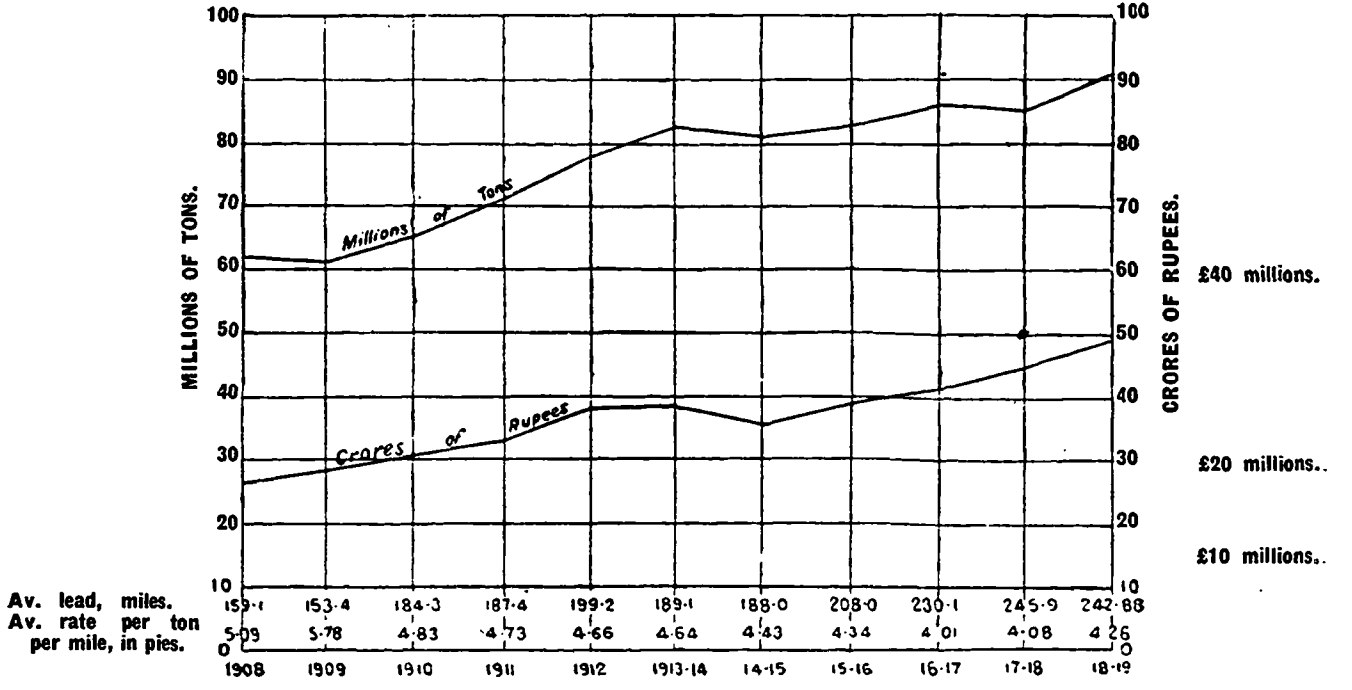
The numbers of passengers carried and the earnings therefrom on all Indian railways are compared below —



The increase in the passenger traffic compared with 1917-18 was chiefly due to the larger movements of pilgrims and marriage parties and also of troops, especially drafts and labour parties, and men on war furlough and under demobilisation.

[*continued on next page.*

The tonnage of, and earnings from, goods traffic are compared in the following diagram :—



apparent every month, orders for a large number of engines, coaching stock and goods vehicles have been placed. The capital expenditure sanctioned for the year 1919-20 amounts to no less than £17·7 millions. This is the largest amount that has ever been allotted to railways in any one year; but there can be no doubt that it is absolutely essential for the maintenance of the Indian system in a condition of reasonable efficiency.

Railway Management.

As was noted in last year's report, the question of the future system of management of railways in India has recently been the subject of much discussion. A report was submitted to the Secretary of State on this matter, and as was announced in the Indian Legislative Council in March 1919, he has proposed that, as soon as appears convenient, an enquiry should be instituted into the desirability or otherwise, on financial and administrative grounds, of modifying the present management of Indian State-owned railways. It may be mentioned that in India the question of State and company management has a special aspect, seeing that already the greater majority of the lines are owned by the State, and under its contracts with the companies to whom they are leased for management, the State has extensive powers of control.

Towards the close of the period under review, it was found possible to abolish the post of Controller of Traffic. But it is interesting to note that by the admission of some of the leading railways, the system of pooling railway stock instituted by the Controller proved very effective. So favourably impressed have been certain railways by these results, that it has been decided to examine the possibility of establishing a central waggon control, with the object of making the most economical use of the existing railway stock.

Coal.

As in the preceding year, the question of the supply of coal which is so intimately bound up with the whole question of railway transportation, caused a considerable amount of anxiety. India has the cheapest coal in the world, for she owns thick seams at shallow depths, and her labour is cheap. But owing to the small use which is still made of modern machinery and efficiency methods, the raisings of coal depend very largely upon the state of the unskilled labour market. In 1918 as was noticed in last year's report, it was found necessary to impose restrictions on the output of small collieries working inferior coal, with the object of preventing labour being diverted from collieries producing the better class coal. This had the desired effect and by the month of December 1918, when the effects of the serious epidemics of cholera and influenza had ceased to influence the labour market, the outputs of collieries working first class coal were in many cases record ones. The requisition of first class coal for railway and admiralty demands remains in force until the end of

March 1920; but in January 1919 the Coal Controller commenced to withdraw the orders and restrictions on the outturn of coal. The office of Controller itself came to an end in April 1919; although it was found necessary to continue for some months more a special indent system under a Coal Transportation Officer. Under this system, waggons were supplied to collieries on certificates issued by the Coal Transportation Officer, the order of allotments being in conformity with a list in which the various consumers were classified according to their relative national importance. By this means, it was possible to effect economy in transportation; but the fact that the more important consumers generally limited their demands to the higher grade coal, exposed the owners of collieries raising the poorer classes of coal to inevitable disadvantage. But it was found possible to safeguard these latter interests by raising the classification of the mines for a certain number of days weekly; and by increasing the waggon allotment, it was found that this could be done without interfering unduly with the supply of waggons to collieries producing the better coal. The arrangement was generally satisfactory and continued in force till the 31st December 1919, when the special indent system was withdrawn altogether.

Control of Coal.

During the period under review, the utilization of mechanical transport in India for military and other purposes has increased steadily. Already this development has proved of some service in relieving the railway congestion; and with the increasing improvement of road communication, the system probably admits of almost indefinite extension in the near future. The pressing demands for mechanical transport on the frontier for military purposes have served to stimulate the development upon the civil side.

Mechanical Transport.

But before mechanical transport can play any considerable part in the solution of the communication problem, a great development of India's roads must take place. At present the economic loss caused by the inaccessibility of many agricultural districts in the rainy season is very great; and this cannot be remedied until the system of trunk roads is extended. Steady progress is being made every year; witness the fact that the mileage of metalled roads maintained by public authorities increased from 54,000 in 1916 to 55,000 in 1917; and of unmetalled roads from 142,000 to 144,000. But the total mileage, which according to the latest figures available, was just under 200,000 in 1917, is quite inadequate to India's requirements. The matter has for long been receiving the attention of the authorities; and if only public interest can be aroused, rapid progress may result. A very useful step forward has been taken by the Government of the United Provinces, which has recently constituted a Provincial Board of Communications, upon which both official experts and non-official representatives of the general

public serve. If this example is followed in other parts of India, a great impetus will be lent to the improvement of communications in general, and of road communications in particular.

Aviation.

During the period under review much attention has been devoted to Civil Aviation. An Air Board has been constituted with the Government of India to advise on matters connected with this important subject and rules have been issued under the Indian Aircraft Act, 1911, for the regulation of private flying on the lines of those adopted in the United Kingdom, in accordance with the International Convention for the Regulation of International Air Navigation. A survey of the primary air routes between Bombay and Calcutta, Calcutta and Rangoon, Delhi and Calcutta, Karachi and Bombay and Delhi and Karachi is in progress, and it is intended to provide aerodromes at the terminal stations on these routes, together with landing grounds at suitable intermediate points. The Government of India have addressed the principal Chambers of Commerce on the subject of the best method of developing the future air transport organisation in this country. They pointed out that a large organisation with a few well placed centres is economically more sound than several small organisations involving many maintenance services. They were, therefore, inclined to the opinion that civil aviation would best be developed in India by the grant of a monopoly for a term of years to a single air transport company independent of any particular aircraft construction company. The Government of India have requested the Secretary of State to send out an officer with experience of commercial aviation to advise on this matter, and it is hoped that before long it will be possible to make an announcement as to the conditions on which the monopoly will be granted. Meanwhile with a view to obtaining reliable data for estimating the prospects and cost of a commercial mail service in India an experimental mail service between Karachi and Bombay was instituted with the assistance of the Royal Air Force. Owing, however, to the little public support obtained the service was discontinued after it had been run for few weeks, the information for the purpose of which it was initiated having been obtained.

2. Private flying having been prohibited since 1914 until the promulgation of the Indian Aircraft Rules at the beginning of 1920 there are at present but few civil aircraft in India. A start has however been made and licenses have been issued to pilots, and machines have been registered. His Majesty's Government have presented the Government of India with 100 aeroplanes which are expected to arrive shortly.

Posts and Telegraphs.

All the evidence seems to point to the fact that the popular demand for communication facilities between various parts of the country is steadily growing. Of this demand an index is afforded by the unchecked growth, despite

all war difficulties, of the traffic handled by the Posts and Telegraph Department. During the year 1918-19, more than one thousand one hundred and ninety million articles were handled—an increase of over forty million articles upon the figures for 1917-18. The increase in telegraph traffic was equally remarkable; 21·3 million telegrams being transmitted—an increase of nearly 1·5 million over the figures for the preceding year. The pressure on the telegraph wires was particularly heavy, and from the 1st September 1918, charges for inland ordinary telegrams and for inland express telegrams had to be raised.

Strain upon the Postal System.

At the close of the period under review, there were roughly 100,000 postal officials, 20,000 post-offices and 160,000 miles of mail line. The remarkable increase in different classes of postal articles may be gauged from the study of the diagram on the opposite page. The congestion on the railways diverted to the post-offices large number of parcels which would ordinarily have been sent as railway parcles, the parcel post becoming increasingly employed for the carriage of heavy merchandise until it became impossible to deal with the number of parcels received or to find room for them in the mail vans. To meet this difficulty, the rate for inland parcels had to be increased. The maintenance of a postal service for the various expeditionary forces continued to be a tax upon the department. During the period under review, 10 base post-offices and 176 field post-offices, employing over 2,000 postal officials, were maintained.

Telephones.

As was noted in the report for last year, the demand for telephones continued to increase; but unfortunately the policy of restricting new connections to those required for urgent military or political reasons had to be continued for practically the whole year. There was considerable difficulty in obtaining the necessary supplies from abroad, which affected particularly the demand for long distance telephones connecting the main centres of industry. But during the year 1918-19, trunk telephone lines were opened to the public from Rawalpindi to Murree, from Simla to Lahore, from Delhi to Lahore and from Lahore to Amritsar. The trunk service between Calcutta and the coal fields has been in great demand, as it is proved by the fact that its revenue increased from just under £700 in 1917-18 to more than £,1,400 in 1918-19. The provision of additional trunks to carry the rapidly increasing traffic is now under consideration.

Wireless.

The wireless telegraph stations in India continued to work satisfactorily throughout the year excepting during the usual period of atmospheric disturbances. Electric disturbances which interfere with wireless working in India are specially troublesome from April to October. Indeed during the period reliable communication by wireless is impossible for a considerable part of the

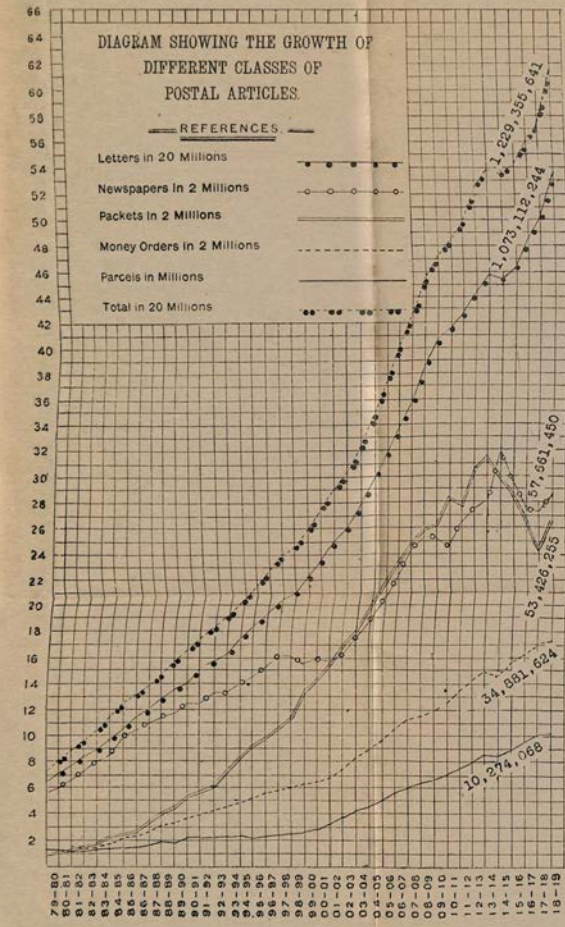


DIAGRAM SHOWING THE GROWTH OF DIFFERENT CLASSES OF POSTAL ARTICLES.
REFERENCES.
Letters in 20 Millions
Newspapers In 2 Millions
Packets In 2 Millions
Money Orders In 2 Millions
Parcels in Millions
Total in 20 Millions
1,229,355,641
1,073,112,244
57,661,450
53,426,255
34,861,624
10,274,068
66 64 62 60 58 56 54 52 50 48 46 44 42 40 38 36 34 32 30 28 26 24 22 20 18 16 14 12 10 8 6 4 2
79-80 80-81 81-82 82-83 83-84 84-85 85-86 86-87 87-88 88-89 89-90 90-91 91-92 92-93 93-94 94-95 95-96 96-97 97-98 98-99 99-00 00-01 01-02 02-03 03-04 04-05 05-06 06-07 07-08 08-09 09-10 10-11 11-12 12-13 13-14 14-15 15-16 16-17 17-18 18-19

day. If these obstacles can be overcome something will be done to remove the heavy congestion of traffic upon the telegraph wires—a congestion which has resulted in a certain amount of inconvenience to the ordinary public. It is understood that a new Special Wireless Branch of the Department of Posts and Telegraphs is shortly to be set up, staffed by experts who have been engaged in wireless telegraphy during the war, possessing full knowledge of the developments which have been perfected during the past five years. The improvement of the Indian wireless system would probably exercise an important influence upon the cable traffic, the congestion of which during the period under review, has been exceptionally heavy. The total number of foreign telegrams dealt with rose from 1·9 million to 2·2 million ; the Indian share of value representing an increase of about 36 per cent. over last year's figures. It should be noted that the chief items responsible for this increase were State foreign telegrams which rose by 26 per cent in number, 27 per cent. in words, and 75 per cent. in value.

Economic Development.

It is noteworthy that the economic stress through which India has passed during the period under review has not checked a remarkable upthrust of economic development. In last year's report it was pointed out that the economic effect of the war upon India had been to afford a notable stimulus to commerce and industry. The great public interest which has been aroused in the industrial development of the country—an interest stimulated by the report of the Indian Industrial Commission and the obvious intention of Government to take steps in the near future upon it—has shown no signs of flagging during the period under review. The period intervening between the Armistice and the beginning of 1919 was necessarily a period of transition and uncertainty. Owing to the suddenness of the termination of hostilities, and to the natural apprehension lest the peculiar circumstances arising out of the war should speedily disappear, there was a heavy depression in trade circles. This did not last long, and soon there was a reaction in the form of a boom in trade and industry. The Government was fully alive to the vital necessity of freeing Indian trade from all impediments at the earliest possible date. With the cessation of hostilities, it became possible to withdraw many of the restrictions on trade imposed during the war. In the course of the year the prohibition on the export of raw jute, hides and skins, oils and oilseeds was removed. Despite the hampering factors of food shortage, want of shipping and freight, the difficulty of railway transport, and the additional complications of the exchange problem, trade and industries throughout the period under review have flourished to an almost unprecedented degree. It is no exaggeration to say that the country is at the beginning of an industrial renaissance. During the

Industrial Prosperity.

war, large profits were made; but so long as war conditions continued there was little outlet for their investment; while the difficulty of obtaining new machinery or expert labour made it practically impossible to start new enterprises or to extend existing ones. The conclusion of hostilities naturally led to a great rush on the part of the Indian public to invest in new industrial ventures. Licenses for new companies have been freely granted since the Armistice, now that the necessity for conserving the money market for Government loans has passed away. The attraction which these new companies exercise upon available capital is indirectly indicated by the fact that the 5 per cent. 1944-45 loan which was floated during the period under review produced about £14 millions. The figures for company flotations are strikingly in excess of this figure, which while very greatly superior to anything obtainable in the pre-war period, does not compare with the £35 millions and £38 millions of the two War Loans. Examination of the actual returns of company flotation shows that in the nine months April to December 1919, 634 new companies, with an aggregate authorised capital amounting to more than £134 millions were registered in British India and Mysore. The magnitude of this development will be realised when it is pointed out that during the corresponding period of 1918 the number of companies registered was 158 with a capital of £4½ millions. During the year 1919-20, 906 companies have been floated with an aggregate capital of £183 millions, for every conceivable purpose, and although there is no reason to apprehend the presence of bogus flotation, the extent of the boom has caused a considerable amount of head-shaking. Indeed, in September the Bombay share brokers' association went so far as to resolve not to transact any business in the shares of newly started companies with which no transactions had already been done. Generally speaking, there are signs that the wildness of speculation is now being brought under control. The phenomenon is particularly interesting as evidence both of the stimulus which the events of the last few years have exerted in the direction of encouraging Indian industry, and of the growing capacity of the country to finance an era of great industrial expansion. In this connection it is noteworthy that half way through the year the *Swadeshi* movement was revived by Mr. Gandhi, with the idea of encouraging the consumption of Indian made goods, and the revival of cottage industries. There can be little doubt that this movement, if it is inspired by principles of sound business, will be advantageous to India as a whole. The classes for whose benefit it is primarily projected are those who stand most in need of its assistance. But it may be doubted whether, when world conditions return to a state more nearly approaching the normal, any such enterprise, unless it be founded rather upon

Company Flotations.

Swadeshi.

business principles than upon considerations of sentiment, will exhibit sufficient vitality to enable it to stand up against the pressure of the competition which will inevitably oppose it.

In so far, however, as the *Swadeshi* movement can assist to increase the efficiency of the labour of India, its results will be to the good. Upon the successful solution of this problem, the future of the new industrial movement really depends. As Mr. Thomas Ainscough points out in his *Report on the Conditions and Prospects of British Trade in India*, Indian labour, though paid low wages as compared with British or American labour, is as yet untrained and inefficient, inclined to be slovenly in its work. Already the demand for skilled mechanics and operatives is greater than the supply, and in the course of the next few years, until the new works are able to train their own staffs, this demand will be largely increased. Industrial success will come despite, rather than through, low-paid labour. Until the living—and efficiency—standards of the Indian workmen can be raised, he will never be able to turn out as good work as his rival overseas; and in order to effect this change, the wages, housing and general conditions of labour in India will have to be raised and improved considerably. This will provide the only solid foundation for the industrial future of the country.

Development of Industry—Administrative Action.

During the whole of this period Government has been actively employed in considering how assistance should be directed towards making India more economically self-sufficing than has hitherto been the case. As was pointed out in the report of the Indian Industrial Commission, the country was still unable to produce more than a small fraction of the articles essential for the maintenance of ordinary civilised activities. Any technologist will realise what must be the state of a country that makes no nails, screws, steel springs, iron chains, wire ropes, steel plates, machine tools and internal combustion engines. Rich though India is in raw materials, she is very poor in industrial achievements. For example raw rubber to the value of £1·5 million is annually exported, while rubber goods worth more than £1 million are imported. It was to remedy this state of affairs that the recommendations of the Indian Industrial Commission were first framed. After the opinions of local Governments had been received on these recommendations, the Government of India forwarded them, together with its own opinions, to the Secretary of State. In September the Secretary of State replied accepting the two fundamental principles which underlie the recommendations of the Commission, namely, that in future Government must play an active part in the industrial development of the country, and that Government cannot undertake this work unless provided with adequate administrative equipment and fortified with

Future Policy.

reliable scientific and technical advice. Accordingly it has been agreed that suitably equipped organisations are to be set up both in the Provincial and Central governments. Most Provincial governments already possess organisations of their own, under the supervision of Directors of Industries who are in some cases assisted by Advisory Boards. In Bombay during the period under review, much solid work has been done in fostering the hand-loom industry by the introduction of improved appliances; in supplying technical advice and assistance at the inception of industrial projects, and generally in aiding private enterprise. In Madras, Bengal and the United Provinces marked activity has been displayed in the survey of industrial possibilities, the initiation of new projects, the provision of technical advice. Certain of the more progressive states, notably Mysore, have already started their Departments of industries; and in Gwalior there has recently been initiated a Board of Economic Development. So far as the Government of India is concerned, regular proposals have now been formulated for the organisation of the Imperial Department of Industries. A Board of Industries and Munitions has been constituted to close the war commitments of the Indian Munitions Board. An expert committee has been appointed to consider the recommendations of the Commission regarding the creation of an All-India Scientific Service. Steps are being taken to investigate the way in which State-aid can best be given to stimulate and develop industrial enterprise. Such aid naturally will take various forms, among which may be mentioned research, the survey of natural resources, technical and scientific advice, educational facilities, commercial and industrial intelligence, the establishment of pioneering and demonstration factories, and financial assistance. Perhaps almost equally important in the encouragement of India's industries is the proposal to set up an agency for the purchase and inspection of stores in India; a committee has already been appointed to enquire into the matter and work out the organisation of an Indian Stores Department.

Industry in the Provinces.

Indian States.

Necessary Preliminaries.

Independently of the work which is being done to translate the recommendations of the Indian Industrial Commission into practice a number of highly useful surveys have been initiated or completed during the period under review. Reports have been received as to the possibilities of utilising water power in India; as to the improvement of the cotton industry; as to the development of the Indian silk industry; while at the moment of writing, a committee to investigate the possibilities of increasing the production of Indian sugar is at present engaged in touring the country in pursuit of its investigations. As symptomatic both of the

Industrial Surveys.

necessity for enquiry into such matters, and of the benefits which may be expected from expert investigation of them, it may be mentioned that a report which has been presented to the Secretary of State on the Indian coal industry points out that one-third of the coal *in situ* in Indian coal mines is at present being lost on account of bad methods of mining, while three-quarters of a million tons are lost annually by the wasteful power working of collieries.

The Fiscal Question.

Intimately connected with India's industrial prosperity in the future, is the fiscal question. Much interest has been excited during the year under review by the recent imposition of an export duty on hides and skins with a rebate on hides and skins tanned within the Empire. It was specially pointed out, when the Bill imposing the duty was introduced in the Indian Legislative Council, that the project formed no part of any general scheme of Imperial preference, but was proposed because the particular duty and rebate were necessary in the interests of India. The object was to ensure that India's hides and skins should be converted so far as possible into fully tanned leather in the country, and, failing this, in other parts of the Empire. The imposition of this embargo affecting hides served to stimulate in increasing degree the attention which the politically-minded classes in India have for long devoted to the question of fiscal autonomy. Great satisfaction has been expressed at the relevant recommendation in the report of the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill. It has been pointed out that, although fiscal autonomy cannot be granted by Statute without the unconstitutional result of limiting the ultimate control of India by Parliament or prejudicing the Crown's power of veto, nonetheless it can be assured by the acknowledgment of a convention that the Secretary of State should so far as possible abstain from intervention in fiscal matters when the Government of India and the Indian legislature agree, and should only intervene to safeguard the international obligations of the Empire. This seems to imply that when the Government of India and the Indian legislature agree, they are in future to have practically a free hand so far as fiscal matters are concerned. The whole question of the adoption by India of any general scheme of Imperial preference is to be examined by a Committee of the Imperial Legislative Council.

The Recommendation of the Joint Committee.

Indian Trade and the outbreak of war*.

Before proceeding to consider the main features of India's trade for the year 1918-19, it will be convenient to summarise briefly the effect exerted upon that trade by

* Materials for this section are derived from Mr. C. W. E. Cotton's *Handbook of Commercial Information for India:* and from the *Review of the Trade of India, 1918-19* published by the Director of Statistics.

the course of the war. With the outbreak of hostilities, the cessation of commercial relations with the Central European Powers, who in the twelve months preceding the outbreak of the war had been increasingly good customers of India's raw material caused considerable dislocation. Both the exporters of raw cotton from Bombay and of raw jute from Calcutta lost in Germany one of their best markets. The prices of both commodities fell, and the simultaneous cessation of all demands for copra from Hamburg and Bremen created a serious situation. The invasion of Belgium and the military pre-occupations of Marseilles upset the oil seed and the ground-nut trade ; while the activities of the *Emden* during the first five months of the war and the menace of the *Konigsberg* in the Arabian sea, paralysed exports. A great shortage of freight arose from the commandeering of vessels for military transport. Further, the neutral shipping which visited Indian ports was unable to make good all at once the elimination of the German and the Austrian mercantile marine. The jute mills were working short time, and, faced with a reduced demand for their manufactures, were unwilling to make any large purchases of raw material except at bargain prices. As it happened, the crop that was harvested in September 1914 was unusually large, and unfortunately for the Bengal cultivators, a fall of prices was accelerated which the mills were generally far-sighted enough to utilise.

Early Difficulties.

Before long, however, the country began to adapt itself to war conditions. With the Allies entering upon an indeterminate period of trench warfare on the Western front, an enormous demand arose for sand-bags. Unlimited quantities of hides were required for the manufacture of boots for the new armies, and more extensive orders from Japan for raw cotton coincided with an unusually abundant Indian crop. The Government of India were fortunately in possession of large treasury balances in August 1914. These were placed freely at the disposal of trade through the Presidency banks, and a run on deposits in the Postal Savings Bank by small depositors, though threatening to prove severe, was soon arrested as public confidence was restored. Emergency legislation was passed to strengthen the gold standard reserve, and sterling exchange was supported by selling sterling bills (reverse council) on London up to a maximum of £1 million per week.

The Recovery.

As the war advanced, it became necessary to impose restrictions on the export to neutral destinations of foodstuffs and articles capable of being turned to war-like uses, owing to the risk of their being diverted to service of the enemy. An embargo had also to be placed on certain classes of goods which might have been profitably exported, owing to apprehended difficulties of replacing them. But despite the fact that the

1915-16.

monsoon of 1915-16 was not altogether favourable, and the tonnage was growing short, the export trade did extremely well. Fresh high records were established in the exports of tea, jute bags and cloth, and raw wool. Large shipments of wheat were made on Government account. In the import trade, however, the effects of the ruthless submarining campaign began to be severely felt.

1916-17.

In 1916-17 the value of India's overseas trade showed a noticeable gain, particularly in exports, which increased by no less than 21 per cent., while imports increased by over 13 per cent. But in cases of exports and imports alike, this inflation was due to higher prices, and not to any addition in volume. The monsoon was particularly good and well distributed. The crops were, with few exceptions, better than those of the previous year and the enhancement in the prices of raw cotton, saltpetre, shellac, and indigo, was greatly to the benefit of Indian exporters. Jute manufacturers found themselves in the happy position of commanding higher prices for their manufactures while the raw material was 15 per cent. below the level of prices at the outbreak of the war. The intensification of the tonnage scarcity and the financial stringency created by the curtailment of Council Bills were prejudicial to a full utilisation by exporters of the opportunity for profitable trading; but none-the-less the record of trade was extremely satisfactory.

1917-18.

During the year 1917-18, the leading features of trade were the export of commodities of vital national importance to meet the increasing demands of the Allies, and the great impetus given by necessity to India's industrial development. The share of manufactured goods in the export trade, which had been less than 24 per cent. in 1913-14, increased to 31 per cent. It was during this period that the Indian Munitions Board took over the organisation in its entirety of all the Government ordnance, clothing, hide and leather factories. The Board worked up the production of woollen and worsted goods in the existing mills to meet army requirements; it assumed responsibility for the shipment of raw and tanned hides which were very largely utilised in the manufacture of leather for army boots; it provided railway track, rolling stock and plant to Mesopotamia, Egypt, East Africa, Aden, and the Persian Gulf. It established a Government tent factory; it centralised the purchases of jute goods; it constituted a rivercraft branch to take over the work of constructing or re-erecting vessels for water transport; it formed a timber branch which shipped nearly 200,000 tons of bamboos, beams, planks and scantlings to Egypt, Mesopotamia, East Africa and other places; it controlled the products of the Tata Iron and Steel Works at Jamshedpur in steel and pig-iron. It obtained enormous quantities of miscellaneous

Indian Munitions Board.

engineering plant and stores, chiefly for Mesopotamia and East Africa, and scrutinised priority applications for assistance in obtaining goods from the United Kingdom and the United States of America.

1918-19.

Coming now to the period under review, we notice that the two most interesting features which present themselves are *first* the extremely favourable balance of Indian trade ; and *secondly*, certain notable developments in that trade's direction. The gross export of private merchandise amounted to £169 million, an increase of 4 per cent upon last year's figure of £162 million. The gross imports of private merchandise amounted to £113 million, an increase of 13 per cent. upon the 1917-18 figure of £100 million. There is thus left a net balance of exports valued at £56 million as against £62 million in 1917-18 and £52 million the pre-war average. Treasure and funds imported on private account, amounted only to £16 million, as compared to last year's figure of £50 million ; the figures for gold and silver imported on private account standing at £53,000 this year as against £15 million last year and £24 million before the war. This accounts for the fact that when the deduction is made, the balance of trade in favour of India constitutes the new high record of £41 million, taking the rate of conversion at Rs. 15 to the £. From this unprecedented favourable balance, £11 million, representing rupee credits for the Federal Reserve Board in part payment for the American silver, imported under the Pitman Act, to which reference has already been made, should be deducted. But even so, the balance of trade in favour of India remains at a very remarkable height—the more so when it is remembered that the pre-war average balance was unfavourable to India by something like £285,000 sterling.

Balance of trade.

Misleading Impressions.

The figures of exports and imports given in a preceding paragraph, which are based upon the value, as opposed to the volume of trade, are inclined to be misleading when taken alone. It would appear by following them that, as compared with the year 1917-18, the year 1918-19 shows an increase of 4 per cent. in exports and 13 per cent. in imports. Considering the disastrous nature of the monsoon, such a result might well be considered too remarkable to be accurate. Examination shows that the increase in the value of the imports and exports of commodities is, as a matter of fact, very largely due to a rise of prices. When the prices of the year 1917-18 are applied to the imports of 1918-19, it is found that there has been an actual decrease of over 6 per cent. in the volume of the import trade. Also in regard to exports, when the value is calculated at the prices of the preceding year, it is found that the exports of 1918-19 show a decrease of no less than 16 per cent. from the exports of 1917-18. The effects of the failure of the monsoon are unmistakably evident from these figures.

The direction of trade.

Turning now to the direction of trade, an examination of Trade diagram III shows that the main features in the Import trade are an increase in the imports from Japan of £10 million, and from the United States of £2·9 million; a decrease in the imports from the United Kingdom of £3 million. In the Export trade we notice an increase of £6·5 million to the United Kingdom, an increase to the United States of £1·7 million, and to Asiatic Turkey, mainly Mesopotamia, of £2·6 million. Of the total trade, the British Empire had 54 per cent., an increase of 1 per cent. over the pre-war figure. But in the import trade, the British Empire's share shows a decrease from 70 per cent. in the pre-war period to 58 per cent. in the year under review. This is explained by a decrease from 63 per cent. to 46 per cent. on the part of imports from the United Kingdom, which was engaged tooth and nail on the production of munitions of war. The share of other part of the British Empire increased, and that of the Allies, thanks to the efforts of Japan and of the United States, nearly trebled. In the export trade, the British Empire increased its share to 52 per cent.—a rise of 10 per cent. over the figure of the pre-war period. This rise has been almost entirely at the expense of enemy countries, which before the war had nearly 14 per cent. of the exports, consisting chiefly of raw materials for their industries.

United Kingdom.

Turning to particular countries, we find that the United Kingdom heads the list with 35 per cent. of the total trade—a drop of 2 per cent. below the figure of 1917-18, and of 5 per cent. below the pre-war average. The greatest decrease, more than £5 million sterling, occurs in cotton manufactures imported from Lancashire. Of even greater interest is the decrease in the quantity of these manufactures, which in 1918-19 were only one-third of the pre-war quantity imported. Of the more important articles imported into India, the United Kingdom held the premier place in cotton manufactures, liquors, woollen goods, tobacco, chemicals, hardware, railway plant and rolling stock, soap, stationery, haberdashery and millinery, and articles imported by post. The total value of shipments from the United Kingdom to India was some £51 million sterling. The value of exports to the United Kingdom increased to more than £48 million sterling, as opposed to some £41 million sterling in the preceding year. There were noticeable increases in tea, seeds, tanned hides, raw jute and raw wool, while food grains and manufactured jute decreased. The export of tea, 282 million lbs., exceeded the record exports of the preceding year by 6 per cent.

Japan.

Next to the United Kingdom, Japan held the premier place in the import trade of India. Since the pre-war period, 1913-14, Japan has increased her share

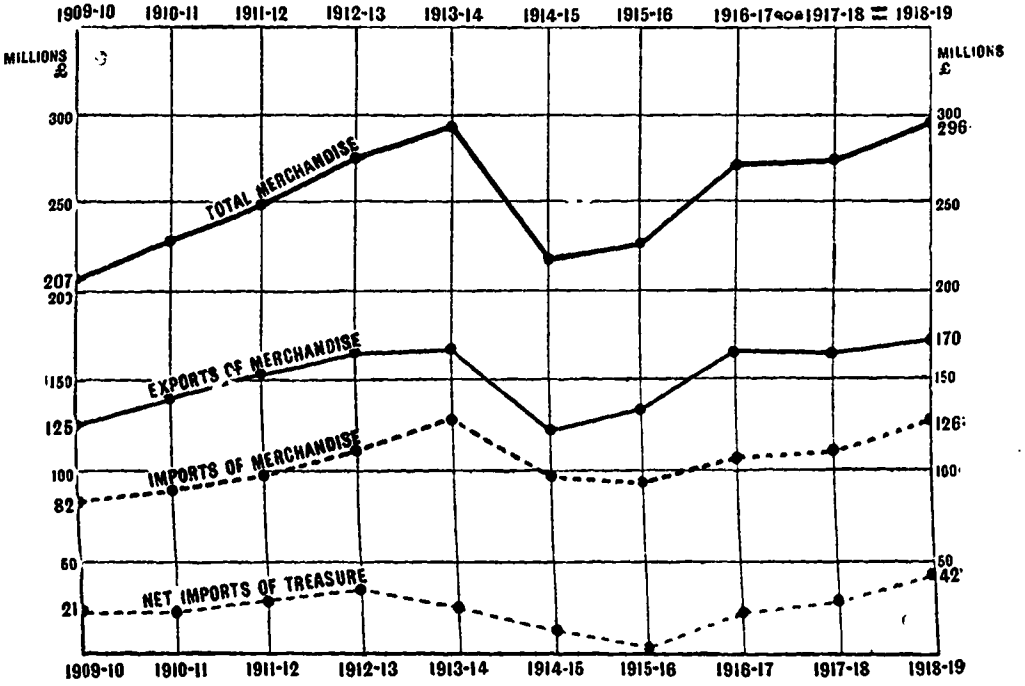
TRADE DIAGRAM I.

THE FOREIGN SEA-BORNE TRADE OF INDIA

(*a*) IN A DECADE

(1909-10 TO 1918-19)

(PRIVATE AND GOVERNMENT)

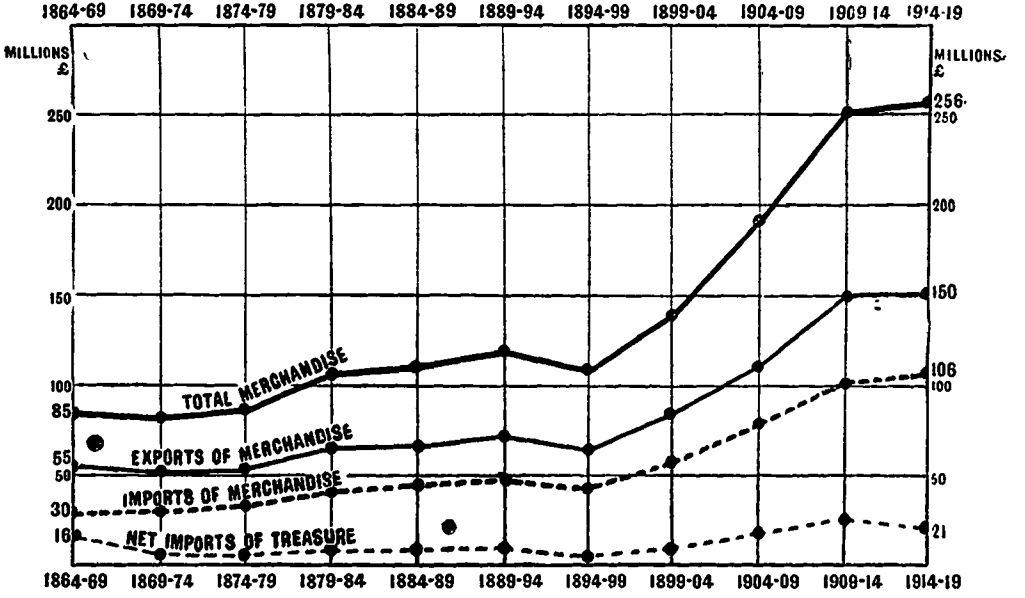


Note.—Imports and exports include both private and Government. (See footnotes.)

(*b*) DURING HALF A CENTURY

(1864-65 TO 1918-19)

(PRIVATE AND GOVERNMENT)



Note.—Imports and exports include both private and Government. (See footnotes.)

Note—1. In chart 1(*b*) the curves are based on averages for 5 years.

2. Total merchandise includes Imports and Exports, both private and Government.

3. Imports of merchandise are inclusive of Government stores.

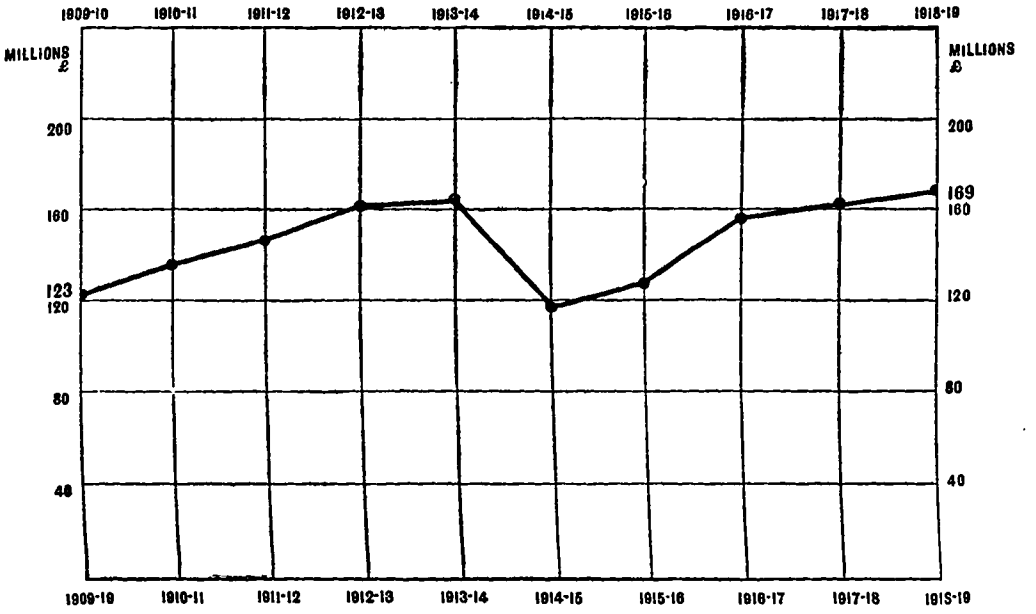
4. Exports of merchandise are inclusive of re-exports and Government stores.

5. *Net* imports of treasure are the imports *minus* the exports of gold and silver, both private and Government. The exports of treasure are ordinarily very much less than the imports.

TRADE DIAGRAM II.

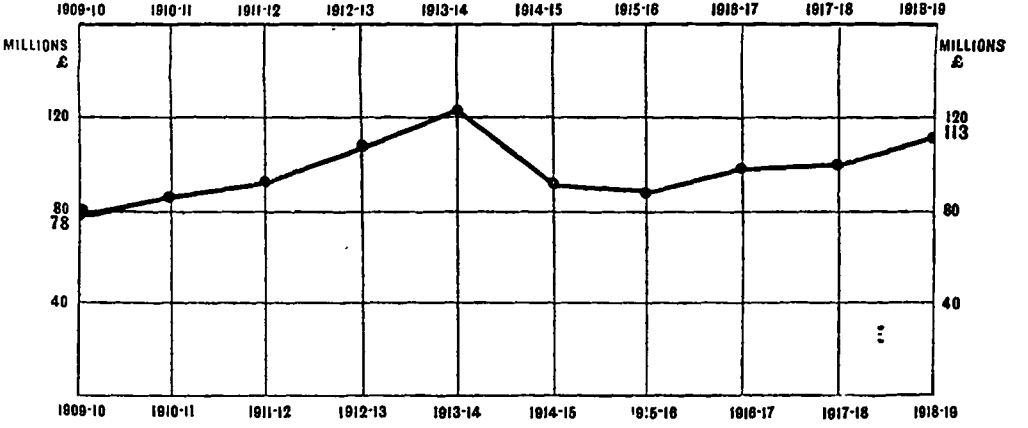
EXPORTS, IMPORTS, AND NET EXPORTS OF PRIVATE MERCHANDISE DURING THE TEN YEARS ENDING 1918-19

1. EXPORTS



Note.—Exports of merchandise are inclusive of re-exports.

2. IMPORTS



3. NET EXPORTS

of the import trade of India from 3 per cent. to nearly 20 per cent. The value of the imports from Japan exceeded £22 million sterling in 1918-19—an increase of £10 million sterling upon the figures of the preceding year. The increase was largely due to cotton manufactures, which now account for nearly 51 per cent. of the imports from Japan as against 28 per cent. in the preceding year. Over 238 million yards of piece goods were imported from Japan in 1918-19, nearly three times the quantity imported in the preceding year. There were important increases in wearing apparel, woollen manufactures, hardware, beer, metals, cement and tea chests, paper and paste board, machinery, chemicals, haberdashery and millinery. So far as exports were concerned, the value of goods sent to Japan from India, £20 million sterling, was 14 per cent. below the figure of the preceding year, but none-the-less an increase of 75 per cent. upon the pre-war average. No less than 80 per cent. of the value of the total Indian exports to Japan was accounted for by raw cotton. Japan's share of the total trade now amounts to nearly 15 per cent, an increase of 1·5 per cent. over last year's figures. Striking as are these statistics, there is some reason for believing that the high-water-mark of Japanese imports, at least, has been reached. The war afforded to Japanese manufactures an opportunity for expansion without parallel in industrial history. Their goods are now to be found in every bazar in the country, as a substitute for the cheap showy articles of similar type which formerly came from Germany and Austria. But in the goods of better quality, they have succeeded mainly through absence of competition; and with the re-entry of British manufactures upon the market, with their high reputation both for quality of goods and methods of trading, it is improbable that Japan will for long maintain her remarkably advantageous position.

United States.

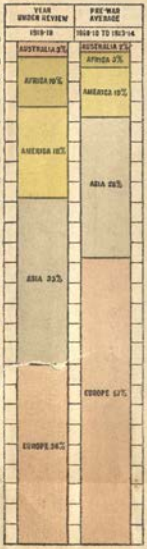
Turning now to the United States, we find that the total value of the trade was some £33 million sterling, an increase of 17 per cent. over the value recorded in 1917-18, and of no less than 131 per cent. over the pre-war average. Of the imports, valued at over £11 million, metals and mineral oil account for roughly 50 per cent. The quantity of iron and steel imported was 140 per cent. above the pre-war average. One of the reasons as the Senior Trade Commissioner has recently pointed out, for the great increase in the shipment of goods from the United States to India. is found in the inability of British manufacturers to supply the market during the war. In the early years of the war, a certain quantity of British material was available, but during the last two years of the period, priority to manufacture for the Indian market and licences to ship to India were only granted to British manufacturers on the recommendation of the Indian Munitions Board. Further, in order to release British

TRADE DIAGRAM III.

EXPORTS

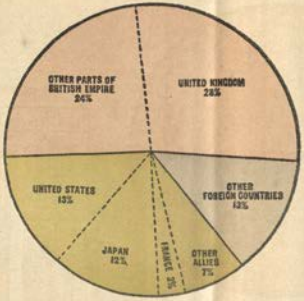
SHARE OF CONTINENTS AND PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES IN THE EXPORT TRADE IN 1918-19, AS COMPARED WITH THE AVERAGE OF THE FIVE PRE-WAR YEARS, 1909-10 TO 1913-14

(1) SHARE OF CONTINENTS

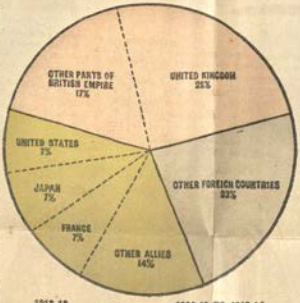


(2) SHARE OF PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES

1918-19
(YEAR UNDER REVIEW)



1909-10 TO 1913-14
(PRE-WAR AVERAGE)



1918-19 (YEAR UNDER REVIEW)	PER CENT
BRITISH EMPIRE	52
ALLIES	35
FOREIGN COUNTRIES	13
	100

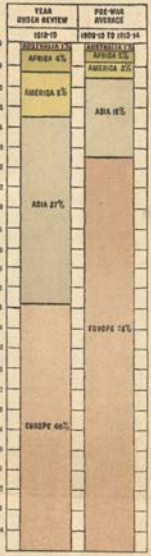
1909-10 TO 1913-14 (PRE-WAR AVERAGE)	PER CENT
BRITISH EMPIRE	42
ALLIES	35
FOREIGN COUNTRIES	23
	100

Note the increase in the share of the British Empire, of the United States, and of Japan in the total export trade, as compared with the pre-war period.

SHARE OF CONTINENTS AND PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES IN THE IMPORT TRADE IN 1918-19, AS COMPARED WITH THE AVERAGE OF THE FIVE PRE-WAR YEARS, 1909-10 TO 1913-14

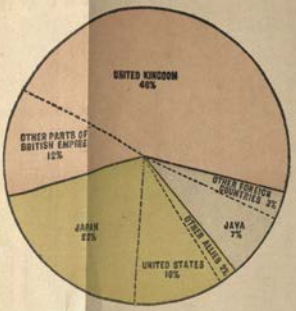
IMPORTS

(1) SHARE OF CONTINENTS

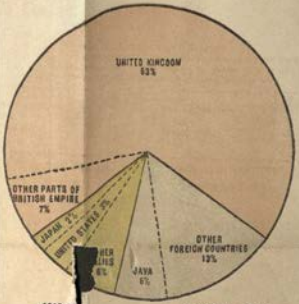


(2) SHARE OF PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES

1918-19
(YEAR UNDER REVIEW)



1909-10 TO 1913-14
(PRE-WAR AVERAGE)



1918-19 (YEAR UNDER REVIEW)	PER CENT
BRITISH EMPIRE	58
ALLIES	30
FOREIGN COUNTRIES	12
	100

1909-10 TO 1913-14 (PRE-WAR AVERAGE)	PER CENT
BRITISH EMPIRE	70
ALLIES	18
FOREIGN COUNTRIES	12
	100

Note (a) the increased share of the British Empire, and decrease in the share of Japan and of the United States in the total import trade, as compared with the pre-war period.

engineering industries for war work, and to conserve shipping, the Imperial Government issued injunctions that priority should be recommended only when the goods were not obtainable either in India, America, Japan, or elsewhere. The consequences have been to drive trade into the hands of foreign competitors. The latest figures would seem to show that America, unlike Japan, is more than holding the initial advantage she secured. In the nine months ending December 1919, for example, the imports of hardware excluding cutlery and electroplated goods from the United States, amounting to nearly £700,000 sterling, were almost double the figure for the corresponding period of the previous year. Electrical instruments and appliances more than doubled in value; machinery and mill-work, trebled; iron or steel tubes, pipes and fittings quadrupled. These statements speak for themselves.

Australia.

It is however satisfactory to notice that the value of the overseas trade with Australia increased by nearly 48 per cent. to some £6 million of which imports represented more than £1 million and exports £5 million. Australia supplied larger quantities of raw wool, bacon and hams, jams and jellies and other provisions. The exports of jute gunny bags and oil seeds increased, while rice and tea decreased. Of the trade with Canada, the most important feature was the great decrease in the direct shipments of tea, which fell from 21 million lbs. in 1917-18 to nearly 1 million lbs. in 1918-19. The sugar trade with Mauritius showed a noticeable change for the better. More than 77,000 tons were shipped to India in the period under review—an increase of 141 per cent. upon the figures for the preceding year.

Features of the Import Trade.

Turning now to the general figures of imports of merchandise we find that the noticeable features of the returns, in value £113 million sterling, as compared with 1917-18 are, first, the large increase of 60 per cent. in the value of iron and steel imported, and of 106 per cent. in the value of imported cotton twist and yarn; secondly, the increase in silk manufactures, raw cotton, wheat, railway plant and rolling stock; and thirdly, the decrease in kerosene oil, matches and timber.

Cotton Manufactures.

We shall now proceed to review briefly the features of the year's trade in the principal commodities which India imports. Beginning with cotton manufactures, we find that the chief features of the year's trade were a large increase in the quantity of cotton twist and yarn, and a correspondingly large decrease in piece goods. While the annual average value of the latter commodity imported during the five war years has been almost the same as the pre-war quinquennial average,

the quantity imported has decreased by 30 per cent. As compared with last year, the decrease was no less than 28 per cent. The value of grey goods increased by 28 per cent. to £16 million sterling while that of coloured goods decreased by 27 per cent. to £8 million sterling.

Of white goods 96 per cent. came from the United Kingdom ; and Japan's share, although seven times as great as last year, stood only at the small figure of 3·7 per cent. In grey goods, however, the share of the United Kingdom fell to 64 per cent. from 87 per cent in 1917-18 ; and Japan's share in the same goods rose from just under 12 per cent to more than 35 per cent. In coloured goods, Japan nearly doubled her share, the 1918-19 figures showing that she enjoyed 9 per cent. of the trade. If we examine the total shares of the principal countries in the import of piece goods, it is found that the United Kingdom has 77 per cent. and Japan 21 per cent. *Cotton yarn* was imported to the extent of 38 million lbs.—exactly twice the figure of the preceding year, though still 4 million lbs. below the pre-war normal. The imports from abroad of the coarser counts increased to nearly six times the pre-war average ; but the production of these counts in the Indian mills showed a slight decrease. In the finer counts there was an increase in the imports and also in the production. But the leading feature of the year's trade in this commodity was the large increase in the imports from Japan, which supplied over 27 million lbs., or 72 per cent. of the total imports as compared with 4 million lbs., or 22 per cent. in the year 1917-18. The imports from the United Kingdom showed a corresponding decrease. The figure is now only 9 million lbs., or 25 per cent. of the total imports, as compared with 15 million lbs., or 77 per cent. of the total imports in 1917-18.

Sugar.

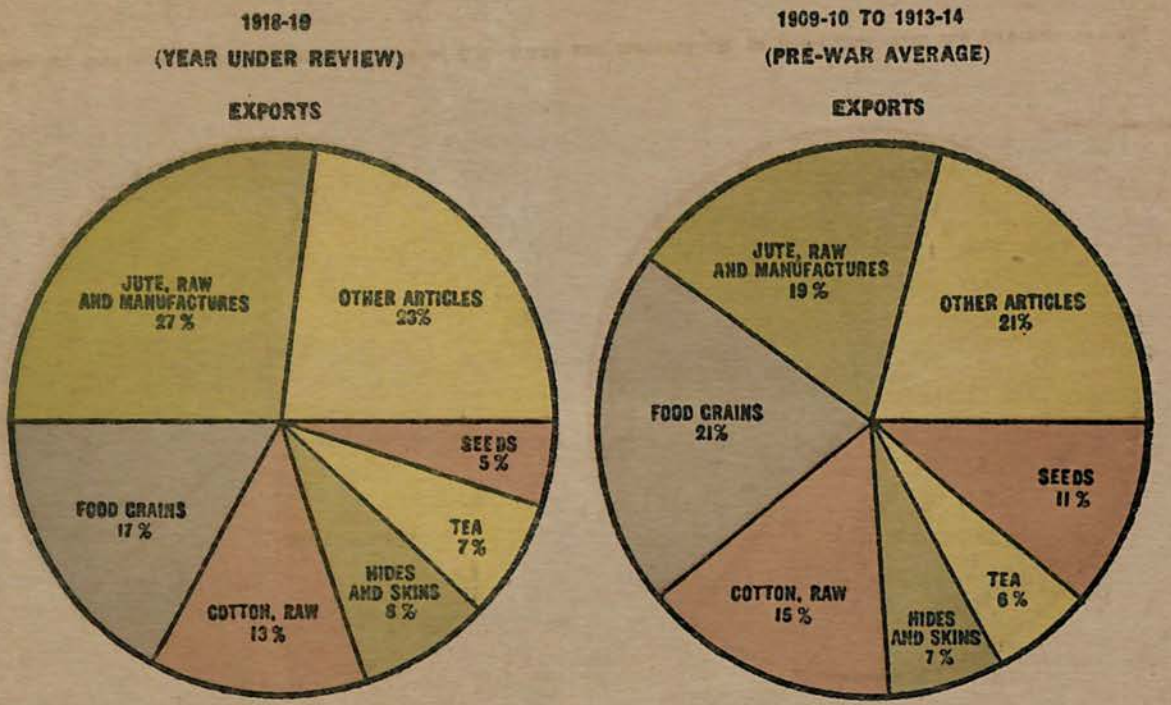
Next to cotton manufactures, sugar is India's largest import. Fortunately for the country, sugar imports amounted to over half a million tons in 1918-19—8 per cent. more than in the preceding year, while different prices account for the fact that this higher quantity has served to produce only a 2 per cent. increase in value. Of importing countries Java still heads the list with over 363,000 tons ; but Mauritius has increased her share from 32,000 tons to 77,000 tons. The Indian production of cane sugar in 1918-19 is estimated at something over 2¼ million tons, as against more than 3¼ million tons in 1917-18. This decrease of no less than 29 per cent. is remarkable in view of the fact that the total area under cultivation was 2·82 million acres as against 2·81 million acres in 1917-18. Since the war Cuba has definitely outstripped India as the foremost cane sugar producer.

Metals.

During the period under review, there was an increase of 19 per cent. over the preceding year in the quantity of iron and steel imported ; but the imports

TRADE DIAGRAM IV.

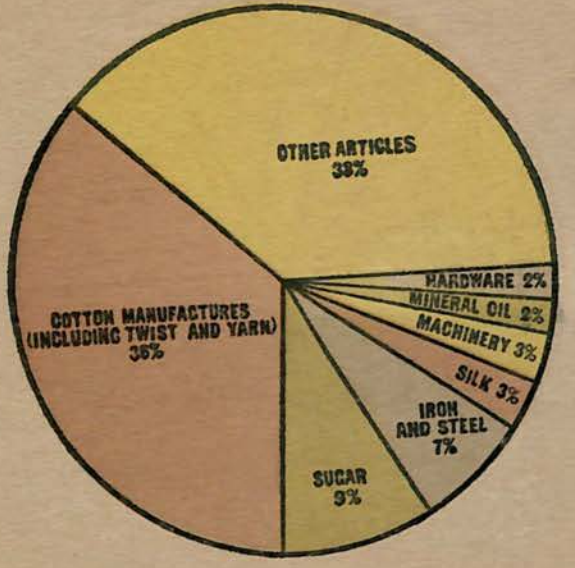
PRE-WAR EXPORTS AND IMPORTS—THE SHARE OF PRINCIPAL ARTICLES IN THE EXPORT AND IMPORT TRADE IN 1918-19, AS COMPARED WITH THE AVERAGE OF THE FIVE PRE-WAR YEARS, 1909-10—1913-14



Note the increase in the percentage share of raw and manufactured jute, hides and skins, and tea, and the decrease in the case of seeds, food-grains, and raw cotton, as compared with the pre-war period.

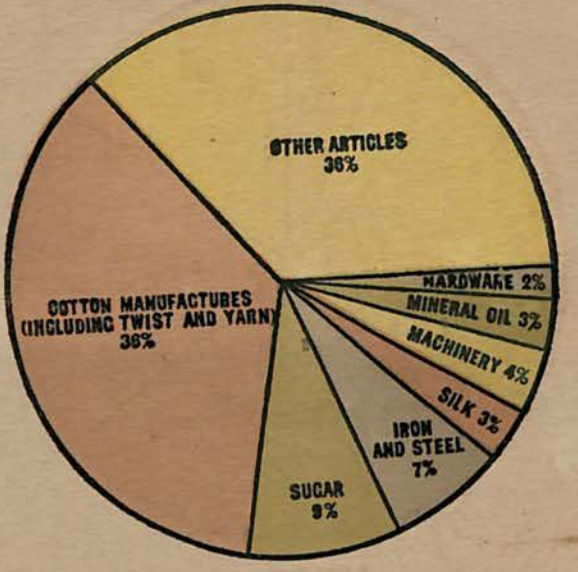
1918-19
(YEAR UNDER REVIEW)

IMPORTS



1909-10 TO 1913-14
(PRE-WAR AVERAGE)

IMPORTS



Note the decrease in the percentage share of machinery and mineral oil, as compared with the pre-war period.

(181,000 tons) were still less than one-fourth of the pre-war quinquennial average. The United Kingdom sent some 77,000 tons, almost the same quantity as in the year 1917-18. On the other hand, the United States increased her share from 63,000 tons to 76,000 tons, and the Japanese figures showed a remarkable rise from 4,000 tons to 15,000 tons. Of railway plant and rolling stock the total value of the imports in 1918-19 showed an increase of 70 per cent. above those of the preceding year; but the decrease from the pre-war quinquennial average is still 81 per cent. The United Kingdom's share in the total imports was 95 per cent. Among other metals, it may be noticed that *copper* was imported to the extent of 2,900 tons as against 2,400 tons in the preceding year, and 12,600 tons, the pre-war quinquennial average. Japan's share, which last year amounted to 80 per cent., fell to 56 per cent. The United Kingdom increased her share from 9 per cent. to 19 per cent., while Australia showed an increase from 4 per cent. to 17 per cent. In machinery and mill-work there were noticeable increases in cotton mill machinery, in boilers and in electrical machinery. A very noticeable feature has been the increase of the share of the United States, to which reference has already been made under the section dealing with the direction of trade. *Silk* showed a slight decrease, China and Japan, as in the preceding year, accounting for 98 per cent. of the imports.

Silk.

In *mineral oil* the main features in regard to the imports were first, the large increase in the imports of fuel oil—a rise to 27·6 million gallons from 15 million gallons in 1917-18; secondly, an increase from 15 million gallons to 19 million gallons in lubricating oil; and thirdly, a remarkably heavy decrease from 31 million gallons to 13 million gallons in the imports of kerosene oil. The decrease in the quantity of kerosene is largely accounted for by freight difficulties and high prices; the imports from America falling from 23 million gallons to 10 million gallons. The imports of kerosene from Persia were much less than the record supplies of the previous year, although well above the average. But in fuel oil the increase was very largely due to greater imports from Persia. In *liquors*, Japan considerably increased her supplies, and for the second time had the largest share of the trade, supplying 60 per cent. of the total quantity, as against 48 per cent. in the preceding year. The imports from the United Kingdom were only 33 per cent. as against 45 per cent. in 1917-18. It is however interesting to notice that the production of Indian breweries in 1918 was over 8 million gallons, an increase of 32 per cent. as compared with the preceding year. In *hardware* the share of the United Kingdom fell from 41 per cent. to 36 per cent., that of the United States increasing from 28 per cent. to 31 per cent., and of Japan from

Mineral Oil.

Liquors.

25 per cent. to 29 per cent. In *paper* and *paste-board* the share of the United Kingdom fell from 26 per cent. to 20 per cent., while that of Japan remained steady at 25 per cent. There was however a phenomenal increase of imports from the United States, which showed an increase from 9 per cent. to 22 per cent. Wood pulp was imported only to the extent of 2,100 tons as against 3,600 tons in 1917-18. With the growth of the paper industry in India, it is to be expected that this figure will still further diminish. Steps have been taken to develop the bamboo pulp industry on a large scale ; and one mill which is being erected in Burma will be capable, it is hoped, of turning out 10,000 tons per annum. Of *salt* the quantity imported from abroad was 25 per cent. above that of the preceding year, 50 per cent. of the total quantity coming from Egypt. The United Kingdom more than doubled her consignments but the quantity, 40,000 tons, was still only one-fourth of the pre-war shipments. The production of Indian salt in 1918 was 1·7 million tons as against 1·3 million tons in 1917. Under the head of *provisions*, it may be noticed that Australia failed to maintain her high percentage of last year. Her share this year fell from 52 per cent. to 37 per cent., and the difference was practically absorbed by an increase in Japan's share from 34 per cent. to 48 per cent.

Miscellaneous.

Exports.

The general features which call for notice in the export trade of the period 1918-19 are first, the large decrease of nearly £9 million in the value of foodgrains exported ; second, the decrease of £8 million in the exports of raw cotton ; third, the surprisingly large increase of £6½ million in the value of jute manufactures exported ; and fourthly, the increase in the value of seeds, raw and tanned skins, tanned hides, raw wool, and oils.

Features of the Export Trade.

India's six chief exports, placed in the order of importance in 1918-19, were :—

(1) Jute, raw and manufactured ;
(2) Cotton, raw and manufactured ;
(3) Grain, pulse, and flour ;
(4) Hides and skins, raw and tanned ;
(5) Tea ; and
(6) Seeds

the total value of the exports of Indian merchandise during the period under review being, as already mentioned, nearly £160 million.

Jute and Jute Manufactures.

Jute and Jute Manufactures constituted the principal export of the year under review, occupying the position held by cotton in the preceding year. The total value of raw jute was £8·6 million, and of manufactured jute £35 million. The combined value was the highest recorded, representing no less than 27 per cent. of the total value of the exports of Indian merchandise, as compared with 21 per cent. in 1917-18, and 19 per cent. in the pre-war quinquennium. Jute manufactures alone accounted for 22 per cent. of the total exports and their value was 23 per cent. above that of the preceding year. The value of raw jute exported nearly doubled, the total quantity being just under 400,000 tons. During the first eight months of the period April 1918 to March 1919, the quantity exported showed an increase of no less than 80 per cent. But in the later months, December to March, after the Armistice had been declared, there was an increase of only 3 per cent. over the corresponding period of the preceding year. The main feature of the trade in raw jute was the increase of the share of the British Empire to 56 per cent. from 25 per cent. in the preceding year. The figure for the pre-war quinquennium was 40 per cent. The United Kingdom took the largest quantity, nearly 56 per cent., as against a pre-war normal of 39 per cent. In pre-war times, the consumption of the jute crop by Indian mills was only about 50 per cent., but in the course of the past year, this rose to 70 per cent. There were 76 mills at work with nearly 40,000 looms and more than 800,000 spindles, as against 64 mills with 36,000 looms and over 700,000 spindles in the pre-war period. *Jute manufactures* for the second time were India's chief export. There was a decrease of 5 per cent. in the quantity exported, over 681,000 tons, but a large increase in value on account of higher prices. The weight of bags exported decreased by 6 per cent., while the value increased by 15 per cent. In gunny cloth there was a decrease of 5 per cent. in weight combined with an increase of no less than 29 per cent. in value. In the first eight months (April to November of the period 1918-19) the value of the total exports of all jute manufactures was some £25½ million as against some £16 million in the corresponding period of the previous year; while after the Armistice during the four months, December 1918 to March 1919, the value decreased by some £2 million.

Growth of Indian Mills.

Cotton.

In *cotton* and *cotton manufactures* the combined value was 19 per cent. below the value of the preceding year, but slightly above the pre-war average. The quantity of raw cotton exported was 184,000 tons as compared with 365,000 tons of the year 1917-18. We have, in fact, to go back to the year 1900-01 to find such low exports. The value of the raw cotton

exported was about £21 million sterling, and it was estimated that the 1918-19 crop showed a decrease of 8 per cent. in quantity upon the crop of the preceding year. The share of the British Empire was 9 per cent., and of the Allies 90 per cent., of which Japan had 76 per cent. Before the war, the corresponding figures were 6 per cent., 69 per cent., and 42 per cent. The remarkable increase in the case of Japan is once more noteworthy. Cotton yarn showed a decrease of 7 per cent., as compared with 1917-18, and of 5 per cent. as compared with the pre-war average. The total quantity shipped was 47 per cent. below the preceding year. Most of the principal consuming countries took less yarn, China showing a very remarkable decrease from 102 million lbs. in 1917-18 to 49 million lbs. in the year under review. The exports of Indian-made piece goods (149 million yards) were 65 per cent. above the pre-war average, but 21 per cent. below the preceding year. But notwithstanding the decrease in quantity, the exports increased in value by some £1·3 million on account of higher prices. The production of piecegoods in the year under review was 345 million yards, or 31 per cent. above the pre-war average, but 10 per cent. less than that of the previous year. In *grain*, *pulse* and *flour*, the main feature of the export trade during the first half of the period 1918-19 was the continued necessity of supplementing the food supply of the United Kingdom and of the Allies in Europe. But with the failure of the monsoon in the middle of the year, the scene entirely changed. It was found possible to prohibit the export of food grains with the object of conserving the Indian food supply, without seriously prejudicing the Allies' cause. Since November 1918, exports have been almost entirely restricted to countries with considerable Indian populations which are accustomed to rely on India for their food supply. The result has been, that whereas in the first six months of the year 1¼ million tons of rice were shipped to other countries the exports during the last six months were only ·8 million tons, a decrease of 35 per cent. as compared with the corresponding period of the preceding year. The exports of wheat amounted to 30,000 tons only in the last half of the year, a decrease of 92 per cent. as compared with the period in 1917-18. Shipments of other food grains were similarly curtailed, and the total exports of all food grains during the last six months of 1918-19 showed a decrease of no less than 53 per cent. as compared with the corresponding period of the previous year. The quantity of rice exported amounted to 2 million tons, 4 per cent. above the preceding year, but 16 per cent. below the pre-war quinquennial average. Burma increased her export by 7 per cent., her share in the total quantity exported being now 80 per cent. as against 77 per cent. in the year 1917-18. In the year under review 55 per cent. of the exports went to the British

Foodstuffs.

Rice.

Empire as against 70 per cent. in the preceding year. The Allies took 29 per cent. as against 14 per cent. in 1917-18. There was a considerable increase in the exports to Japan, France, and the United States. To Japan, in particular, where the crop was a poor one, the shipments, 206,000 tons, were nearly five times the quantity exported in the preceding year. On the other hand, the United Kingdom, which had the largest share of the trade in the preceding year, took only one half the quantity shipped in 1917-18. Of *wheat* the quantity exported was less than half a million tons, a decrease of 67 per cent. as compared with the year 1917-18 and of 64 per cent. as compared with the pre-war normal. The wheat harvest of 1918 was good, but the failure of the monsoon in 1918 considerably reduced the exportable surplus, and especially in the later months of the year, the exports were very small indeed. In the latter part of the year arrangements were made through the Royal Wheat Commission for considerable purchases of Australian wheat. As has been noted elsewhere, over 55,000 tons of Australian wheat were imported in March 1919, and over 100,000 tons in April 1919.

Wheat.

Among other food grains, it may be mentioned that the exports of *gram*, amounting to more than a quarter of million tons, showed a decrease of 14 per cent., as compared with the preceding year, although more than double the pre-war average. Of *barley*, the shipments were 37 per cent. less than those of the previous year, and almost the same as those of the pre-war quinquennium.

Coming next to *hides* and *skins*, the main feature of the year's trade was a further leap upwards in the exports of tanned hides, corresponding with a decrease in raw hides, owing to the prohibition which was in force up to the beginning of April 1919. The quantity of raw hides exported was 19,000 tons, of which 74 per cent. was raw cow hides, which decreased by more than a thousand tons from the 1917-18 figure. The largest shipments were made to the United Kingdom and to Italy. Of raw skins the total exports were 25,000 tons, an increase of 12 per cent. over the preceding year ; nearly three fourths of the total exports went to the United States. Tanned hides were exported to the extent of 25,000 tons, an increase of 39 per cent. as against the preceding year, and of more than 180 per cent. above the pre-war quinquennial average. Almost the entire quantity was shipped to the United Kingdom. A noticeable feature of the trade in hides and skins is the great increase in the tanning of cow hides in India for army purposes. Of *tea* the exports were 324 million lbs.—a decrease of 10 per cent. as compared with the preceding year. But the quantity was still 21 per cent. above the pre-war average. The main

Hides and Skins.

Tea.

features of the year's trade were an increase in exports to the United Kingdom, to Asiatic Turkey, mainly Mesopotamia, and Persia; a great decline in the exports to the United States, Australia and Canada, and a complete cessation of exports to Russia. The formidable competition of Java tea made itself felt in a decrease of the direct shipments to Canada and the United States from the record figure of 42 million lbs. in the preceding year to 3 million lbs. in the period 1918-19. The embargo on the importation of foreign tea into the Commonwealth of Australia having been removed in May 1919, there was a very great falling-off in the export from India to Australia, the latest available figures showing that in the eleven months ending November 1919, the quantity exported was scarcely one-twelfth of that of the corresponding period last year. The total imports of tea by sea from all sources stood at 11 million lbs. as against nearly 5 million lbs., the pre-war quinquennial average. The chief countries of consignment were Ceylon and China.

Oil seeds.

In *oil seeds* the principal features of the year were a decrease in the exports of groundnuts, copra, sesamum and castor; a very noticeable increase in the exports of linseed and rape-seed, and a large increase in the share of the United Kingdom in the total trade. The total quantity exported was under half a million tons, only one-third of the pre-war quinquennial average. Of the total quantity exported, linseed was 60 per cent. as against 32 per cent. in 1917-18; castor 17 per cent. as against 21 per cent.; rape and sesamum together 17 per cent. as against 16 per cent; and groundnuts only 4 per cent. as against 25 per cent. The increase in the share of the United Kingdom was mainly due to larger exports of linseed, castor, and rape-seeds. The main features of the trade in oils were an increase in the exports of cocoanut, linseed and mineral oils, and a decrease in castor oil. Ceylon copra, which was imported in large quantities, is crushed in India; but the exports of cocoanut oil in the year under review exceeded 7 million gallons as against 3 million gallons in the preceding year. The production of petroleum in India including Burma during the year 1918 was estimated at about 286 million gallons.

Metals and Ores.

Of *metals* and *ores*, manganese accounted for 87 per cent. of the total quantity exported. The quantity of this ore shipped decreased by 11 per cent. to just under 400,000 tons. 77 per cent. of the total exports went to the United Kingdom. Of chrome iron ore, the shipments rose to nearly 40,000 tons as against 15,000 tons in 1917-18, and 6,000 tons in 1916-17. The increase was mainly due to larger exports to the United Kingdom. The production of iron and steel at the two premier works, the Tata Iron and Steel Works and the Bengal Iron and Steel Works, was 781,000 tons—50,000 tons more than last year, and 476,000 tons more than the pre-war year 1913-14.

Frontier Trade.

The Frontier trade of British India is carried on with adjoining countries across a land frontier to the north of about 7,000 miles. During the year under review the frontier trade amounted to £21 million—an increase of 10 per cent. over the previous year's record figure of some £19 million sterling, and of 63 per cent. over the pre-war quinquennial average. The registration of this trade includes much which is not really trans-frontier trade, for example, the extremely valuable trade with the Shan States which this year amounted to over £4¾ million sterling. This, though more than double the pre-war average, was 23 per cent. below that of the preceding year. This trade is mainly made up of the product of mines near Namtu belonging to the Burma Mines Company Limited. The total imports of silver from the Northern Shan States into Burma were valued at £·64 million in 1918-19 as against £·27 million in the preceding year; but there was a considerable decrease in the imports of other metals from the Shan States into Burma. This trade is still superior to the trade with Nepal, which before the war had the largest share in the frontier trade of India. The principal imports from Nepal are food grains, the quantity of which amounted to 227,000 tons as against 221,000 tons in the preceding year. Of this quantity no less than 180,000 tons were taken by the province of Bihar and Orissa. With Afghanistan the trade increased by 34 per cent., amounting in the year under review to £3·2 million. The value of trade with Central Asia, Western China, Tibet, Sikkim, Persia, and Siam also increased. The quantity of raw wool imported across the frontier, nearly 28 million lbs, was almost the same as in the preceding year. The imports from Afghanistan increased by 7 per cent., as compared with 1917-18, and by 34 per cent., as compared with the pre-war average.

Inland Trade.

The total value of the large internal trade of India, as registered from invoices by the audit offices of railways, by steamer agencies, and by registration posts, amounts to nearly 2½ times that of its foreign commerce. But this figure, large as it is, does not take into account the trade by rail and river between the internal divisions of provinces, nor th unrecorded rail-borne traffic between one station and another within the same internal division or trade block of a province. The total imports and exports are estimated at 69 million tons, valued at about £813 million, as against 67 million tons valued at nearly £684 million for 1917-18. In contrasting these figures with the pre-war average of 60 million tons and nearly £546 million, the increase in the inland trade must be recorded as extremely satisfactory. The main features of the inland trade during the period under review are first, the decrease in the flow into the ports of wheat, tea, gram, and raw cotton; a large increase in linseed; and an increase in rice and raw jute. The imports of wheat decreased by as

much as 52 per cent. to 885,000 tons. The Punjab supplied under 400,000 tons as against more than double that quantity in 1917-18. The United Provinces exported only 340,000 tons as against 421,000 tons in the preceding year. Rice including paddy increased by 3 per cent., while gram and pulse decreased.

Coasting Trade.

The total value of the coasting trade showed a noticeable increase in 1918-19. The imports and exports of merchandise and treasure excluding stores and treasure carried on Government account, were valued at £104·6 million, an increase of 30 per cent. over the preceding year and of 43 per cent. over the pre-war quinquennial average. One of the main features of the year's coasting trade was an increase in the value of raw and manufactured cotton exported coastwise, amounting to £1·6 million. The increase in the total value of the coasting trade was shared, though unequally, by all the maritime provinces. Bombay increased her total trade by 30 per cent., due mainly to larger imports of rice from Burma and to higher prices of cotton cloth imported from Sind. The increase in the case of Burma was 40 per cent. ascribable chiefly to the exports of rice and kerosene oil and the imports of gunny bags. Bengal increased her coastwise total trade by 32 per cent., due to larger coastwise exports of jute manufactures and rice and to an increase in the imports of raw cotton, kerosene oil and teak wood. There was an important increase of £3 million in the case of Madras, mainly on account of larger imports of rice, kerosene oil and cotton-twist.

Silver.

A special feature of the year was the large imports of *silver* on Government account from the United States. Out of 270 million fine ounces, the release of which had been authorised under the Pittman Act of 23rd April 1918, the share of India was 200 million fine ounces. The total imports of silver on Government account were 237 million ounces, more than thrice that of the preceding year and 19 times the pre-war average. The total net imports of silver into India in 1918-19 were no less than 122 per cent. of the world's production as against 26 per cent. the annual average in the pre-war quinquennium. This figure is the more remarkable when it is remembered that the world's production of silver in the same period fell by 19 per cent.

Gold.

The imports of *gold* on private account showed a remarkable decrease during the year under review. There was actually a net export on private account valued at £1·6 million as against a net import of £13 million in 1917-18, and a pre-war average of £19 million. These figures take into account the imports and exports of gold bullion into and from Bombay on behalf of the Bank of England. Exports of gold bullion on behalf of the Bank of England were valued at £1·7 million in 1918-19 as against £2·5 million

in 1917-18. No gold was imported on behalf of the Bank in 1918-19, as against £1·5 million in 1917-18. This gold was not in settlement of India's trade balance but was merely imported, refined, and warehoused in Bombay on behalf of the Bank. It should be noted that the average net imports of gold on Government account during the five war years ending 1918-19 were nearly £5 million, as against £19 million, the annual average of the pre-war quinquennium.

Shipping.

A consideration of India's trade position in 1918-19 naturally brings us to the closely allied topic of the shipping in which so much of that trade is carried. During a considerable portion of the period under review, the shipping position continued to be acute. Official figures show that the net tonnage of vessels, including native craft, that entered and cleared with cargo and in ballast during the year was 10·5 million tons as against 10·9 million tons in 1917-18, and 16·2 million tons, the pre-war quinquennial average. The percentage of the total shipping represented by British ships amounted to 69 per cent. of the tonnage clearances with cargo and in ballast, as compared with 71 per cent in 1917-18, and 79 per cent the pre-war quinquennial average. In February 1919 the scheme of liner requisitions came to an end in the United Kingdom, and the Agent in India to the Shipping Controller accordingly ceased to act as agent from March 1919. But as the continuance of shipping control in India was still necessary, in order to ensure the transport of foodstuffs so urgently required at reasonable rates of freight, the functions of the Agent to the Shipping Controller were extended, and the designation of that officer was changed to that of Shipping Controller in India. As the period under review drew to a close, the shipping position became easier, and it is hoped that early in the year 1920, it will be found possible to remove control over shipping in Indian waters also.

Passages by Sea.

Nor was it only over merchant shipping that war conditions necessitated the imposition of control. At the declaration of the armistice on November 11th 1918, and on the subsequent removal of restrictions on travelling through the Mediterranean, it was apparent that there would be a great demand for passages to England. Early in December 1918, a Controller of Passages was appointed, and Shipping Companies were instructed by the Ministry of Shipping to allot 80 per cent. of the accommodation available in each steamer to holders of priority certificates. The number of persons covered by certificates issued by the various passage committees up to the end of June 1919, was approximately 14,000. By the end of that month, the congestion was relieved, and the system of control came to an end on the 1st of July. But the intervention of the Government of India was not confined merely to regulating passages; it also attempted to afford relief to the passengers. During the war,

fares had been raised to almost prohibitive figures. Accordingly, in December 1918, a representation was made to His Majesty's Government, with the result that the Ministry of Shipping arranged with certain Shipping Companies for a reduction of rates by 20 per cent. and for the issue of return tickets for the price of one and a half single fares. The Peninsular and Oriental Company brought these reductions into force from the beginning of March 1919 ; and the following month, a further reduction of rates was made.

CHAPTER IV.

Foundations of Progress.

Material and Moral progress.

From the general economic survey, which has already been made, of the period under review, it will readily be gathered that the conditions of the year 1919 were, taken by themselves, not such as to favour either the material or the moral uplift of the Indian masses. High prices and scarcity, acute distress and industrial disturbance, are not calculated to facilitate social or economic progress. The poorer classes of India have undergone a very severe strain. It would therefore be only natural to expect that such progress as might normally have been expected, would be conspicuous during the period under review by its absence. But, remarkable to relate, this is far from being the case. A survey of the achievements of 1919, first in the material and secondly in the moral sphere, reveals a striking record.

Economic strain and the masses.

As has already been remarked, India has passed through the worst crop failure since the famine of 1899-1901. None-the-less, the general impression gained by those who have toured up and down India in directing the work of food control has been that of a marked and impressive absence of visible signs of distress. The apparent ease with which the people have stood up to unprecedented price levels is a matter both for surprise and for thankfulness. This impression is borne out by the season and crop reports received from the provinces. Prices were nowhere higher, for example, than in the Central Provinces; yet the report records that distress was nowhere really serious or severe, and that the agricultural population have come through the period of acute strain extremely well. Similar testimony is borne, to take another example, by the report from the United Provinces. The agriculturists weathered the storm without much apparent difficulty and the opinion has been hazarded that a degree of protection has been attained, which removes the worst danger of a failure of the rain. Striking proof of the general accuracy of the impression derived from a perusal of these reports is afforded by the fact that the maximum number of persons on relief in 1919 was less than one-tenth the corresponding number in 1900.

Condition of the People.

In the light of the statements which so frequently appear as to the grinding poverty beneath which the Indian masses labour, the unexpected powers of resist-

ance displayed by the population of India seem to need a word of explanation. The figure which is so frequently quoted for the average income per head in India—namely, approximately £2 per annum—if taken by itself would seem to make the economic history of the period under review wholly inexplicable. But the truth is, that this figure, compiled years ago from statistics even then admittedly imperfect, must be taken with the greatest reservation. Even if—a contingency which is highly unlikely—this figure still were approximately accurate today, it would certainly convey a false impression to persons unfamiliar with the conditions of India. In any discussion of the economic condition of the Indian masses, it should be remembered that of a total population of well over 300 millions, considerably less than one-tenth live in towns. The natural result is that in the case of nine-tenths of the population of India, the economy which rules their life is even now an economy which cannot be measured merely in terms of money. The monetary income of the average villager, small though it may be, represents but a fraction of his total budget. His dwelling as a rule costs him little or nothing. His food is mainly produced by his own labour and by that of his family, and it would probably be fair to say that his annual compulsory expenditure on necessaries is considerably less than his annual monetary income. But this state of affairs is changing with increasing rapidity every year. A monetary economy is beginning to replace the old system ; and the period of readjustment is painful. In the towns, we have already an approximation to Western conditions, for the monetary income of the industrial labourer represents by far the largest proportion of his assets. Of this fact, the recent and very noticeable industrial unrest is highly symptomatic. The labourer in the town finds himself dependent on his cash earnings for his support in a manner which is still untrue of his brother in the village. The rising prices accordingly affect him much more quickly and much more seriously than they affect the mass of the rural population.

Natural *versus* Monetary Economy.

But the change from the old system to the new, as has been pointed out, is rapidly taking place. In its train comes agricultural indebtedness, with all its attendant evils and depressing effects. During the period under review, some very interesting investigations into the problem of agricultural indebtedness have been conducted by the Registrar of Co-operative Societies in the Punjab. It is found that in the case of large proprietors, the average total debt is seven times the land revenue paid by them. In the case of the smaller proprietors owning or cultivating less than eight acres, the indebtedness is more serious, being twenty-eight times the land revenue. Detailed estimates would seem to show that the total agricultural indebtedness of the Punjab

Agricultural Indebtedness.

is something approximating to £30 millions. Corresponding estimates are not available for other provinces in India; although it may be pointed out that it was estimated in 1896 that the total debt of the Madras Presidency, with a population twice that of the Punjab, was approximately £13 millions. Whatever the exact figures may be for agricultural indebtedness up and down India, there can be no question that the problem is one of extreme seriousness. For as long as the population of the country is subjected to a burden so crippling, it is difficult to see how they can advance morally and materially even if facilities for such progress are placed in their way.

The Co-operative Movement.

But even during the particularly disadvantageous period which we are reviewing, there have been most encouraging signs of material and moral uplift. Of this, the most striking is perhaps the continued and unchecked growth of the co-operative movement throughout the whole year. It is hardly necessary to point out the importance of this movement to a country which contains as large a proportion of agriculturists to the general population as does India. Not only from the point of view of reducing debt and placing the agriculturist upon his feet, but also from the point of view of its beneficial effects upon the character and habits of the people, co-operation is full of promise for the future. As complementary to what has been said about indebtedness in the Punjab, it must be mentioned that the figures which are available for 140 Co-operative Societies which have been in existence for ten years in fourteen districts in the Punjab, show that 28 per cent. of the members are now entirely free from debt. Well over £100,000 of debt has been paid off; and it is believed that ten years of co-operation will on an average reduce a member's debt by half. There can be no doubt that if the co-operative movement continues as it has begun, the problem of agricultural indebtedness will in the course of another generation have lost much of its terrors. Perhaps even more important from the point of view of the general progress of India are the moral effects of co-operation. Litigation and extravagance are both diminishing. Reports from provinces as remote from one another in situation and in condition, as the Punjab and Burma, reveal facts which are full of good augury for the future. In the Punjab, it is pointed out that many societies in the Lahore district have adopted a bye-law prohibiting certain specified forms of ceremonial extravagance. What can be done by co-operation in a village community is exemplified by the history of a Sikh village near Amritsar. This was formerly full of bad characters, the people were poor, many of them drank, their cattle were weak, and their land mostly mortgaged. In this village the Co-operative Society is now seven years old. The people no longer

Moral Effects.

drink, no one is upon security, the cattle are strong, and much land has been redeemed. Equally healthy is the growth of sound public opinion among the members of Co-operative Societies. From one of the Punjab villages comes the story of a member who made a regular income out of perjury. The directors of a local union got the other members to expel and excommunicate him. The perjurer repented, took a public oath in the village mosque and was readmitted. From Burma also come reports which are equally encouraging. Co-operation is here slowly but surely creating a public spirit and a sense of common citizenship which will be of incalculable value to the future economy and social life of the country. There is a growing desire to combine in joint enterprises. The promotion of education, the prevention of infantile mortality, the distribution of useful medicines, the improvement of agriculture, are among the matters with which Co-operative Societies concern themselves. And one of the most interesting features of the Burmese movement is the fact that it has been carried on almost entirely under indigenous direction. The lack of British officers owing to the exigencies of the war, and the rapid extension of the movement, necessitated a large measure of decentralization which has resulted in a predominantly popular direction of co-operative activities.

Future Work.

The field which exists for co-operative work in the future may be gathered from the fact that there are still under 33,000 societies in the country. Of these by far the largest proportion, namely, some 29,000 are agricultural societies. Public confidence in the movement shows obvious signs of growing, as the proportions of loans and deposits from non-members has nearly doubled in the course of four years and represents more than 30 per cent. of the total capital. In the plan of re-construction which India will soon have to take up, the co-operative movement must play a large part. The ultimate responsibility of conducting the movement will rest with Government, but there is a growing and healthy tendency to bring it under popular control and to make it as non-official as possible. Throughout the period under review, the progress of co-operation has been rapid and unchecked. In Madras, there has been a large expansion of non-credit societies and a marked progress in the extension of the movement to the depressed classes.

Madras.

There are now nearly a quarter of a million members of co-operative societies in the Presidency, and despite the failure of many societies to collect interest on the loan, a failure due to the unfavourable condition of the year, the net profit of all societies amounted to some £24,000.

Bengal.

In Bengal the number of Agricultural Societies rose from 3,374 to 3,923 and the membership roughly from 126,000 to 135,000. Five societies now exist with limited liability

for co-operative purchase and sale; and the only society for production has had a prosperous and successful year. One large society for production and sale, the Naogaon Ganja Cultivators' Co-operative Society, did most excellent work during the year. Government now gives a license to the society alone for the sale and cultivation of ganja (a narcotic derived from the flower of *cannabis sativa*) on an area of about 1½ square miles. Brokers and middlemen having been eliminated, the cultivators get the full value of their crops. A profit of about £20,000 resulted from the year's operation. The society has engaged a veterinary assistant to attend to the cattle of the members and has under consideration a scheme of cattle insurance. A part of its reserve fund is to be invested in the purchase of a farm to be staffed, equipped, and stocked on the most modern lines to improve the local crops. It has opened schools, dispensaries and other institutions of public utility, and has spent nearly £3,000 during the year on public objects. This society provides an excellent example of what may be done under favourable conditions.

Punjab.

Of the working of co-operation in the Punjab, we have already noticed some characteristic features. It may be mentioned that in the course of the year under review, the number of agricultural societies rose from 3,937 to 5,228. These figures are indicative of a substantial advance and the awakening of interest in tracts hitherto unstirred by the co-operative movement. A careful watch has been kept upon the danger, briefly referred to in last year's report, of unsound expansion; and there can be no doubt that the progress made is real and rests upon the most solid foundation.

Bombay.

In Bombay, despite the difficulties under which Co-operative Societies have had to carry on their work, the amount of working capital and the number of societies continued to expand almost as rapidly as usual. At the end of the year, there were more than 2,000 registered societies with a working capital of over £1 million. The most important event of the year was the registration of the Central Co-operative Institute, the main object of which is to serve as an educational propagandist research and advisory body, on the model of the Irish Agricultural Society in Dublin. It may be recalled from last year's report that an institution of this kind is already at work in Bengal. The Bombay Presidency is exceptionally fortunate in possessing a large number of non-official workers who interest themselves in co-operation and are very largely responsible for the remarkable progress which the movement is making.

United Provinces.

In the United Provinces, the number of agricultural societies rose from 2,873 to 3,186, and although the total membership remains almost constant at 92,000, it is satisfactory to notice that the average working capital per member rose from £3·5 to £3·7. The majority of

the loans advanced were for productive purposes. The progress of the movement in the United Provinces is not so striking as is the case elsewhere in India. The administration is fully alive to this fact and a substantial addition to the trained staff has recently been sanctioned.

Burma.

In Burma, the total number of Co-operative Societies rose by nearly 600, the figure now standing at 3,612. We have already noticed the firm hold which the principles of co-operation have already gained upon the people of the province. Bihar and Orissa also shows a substantial increase in the number of agricultural credit societies which rose from 1,616 to 2,044. Ten new central banks were started, and prevailing high prices gave an impetus to the formation of distributive stores.

Bihar and Orissa.

The peculiar economic circumstances of the year 1919 have rather encouraged than discouraged the application of the co-operative movement to purposes other than mere credit. The difficulty of obtaining articles not locally available and the opportunity afforded to profiteers by the restriction upon railway transport have stimulated the growth of co-operative stores, while the rise in prices and general disturbance of economic conditions have stimulated self-help in the formation of banks. Numerous conferences and meetings have been arranged in the provinces where the co-operative movement has a particularly strong hold. Efforts have been made to attract public attention and to enlist public sympathy by pointing out the excellent work which the co-operative movement has done up-to-date, and indicating the scope which exists for its future activities.

Scientific Agriculture difficulties.

The steady and solid progress of the co-operative movement is by degrees providing the necessary foundation for a corresponding progress in scientific agriculture. The means of the Indian cultivator are very limited and in most cases do not permit of outlay either upon improved agricultural implements, or upon expensive fertilisers necessary for supplementing soil deficiencies. The Indian cultivator needs improved seed, improved tools, and improved methods; and unless these can be placed at his disposal, he cannot be expected to achieve much progress. The help which the co-operative system can afford in overcoming these difficulties is undoubted, and the prospect of future prosperity which it opens up to the peasant is most encouraging. At present, since his means are small, the Indian agriculturalist often fears to take up new methods until he is convinced beyond all possibility of doubt that he is going to do much better without a large extra expenditure of labour and of money. But in his case it is not merely a question of poverty and under-capitalisation,

The world's progress is affecting agriculture equally with other occupations, and unless the agriculturist can be equipped with the knowledge, as well as the capital, for developing the resources at his disposal, it is difficult to see how he will in future support his share of the economic burden from which no nation on the road of self-government can escape. Moreover, the economic upheaval resulting from the war has thrust agriculture into the foreground and has intensified the demand in India, as in the rest of the world, for higher production. During recent years, an extraordinary change has taken place in the position which the Department of Agriculture occupies relative to the agricultural population. In many places, the cultivator has already learnt to look on the agriculture expert as a friend and a guide, and his old attitude of suspicion towards new methods is beginning to be substantially modified. When the successes of such methods can be quickly and plainly demonstrated, they spread with remarkable rapidity.

Hopeful Signs.

The fact is that the conservatism of the agricultural classes is in many ways breaking down before the economic influence of high prices. The return received by the farmer for his food grains has been of late so large that he is awakening to the fact that he is not extracting from his land all that it is capable of producing. In Southern India, in particular, the willingness of the agriculturist to learn how to improve the quantity and quality of his crops is being hailed by those in a position to form a sound judgment of the matter as the dawn of an era of intensive cultivation.

Future Prospects.

The potential wealth which India possesses in land, which is at present either wholly unutilised or insufficiently developed, is almost incalculable. Acres upon acres of land lie untilled, awaiting only the application of manure, water, and industry to yield tons of valuable crops. In last year's report it was mentioned, as an example of what can be done by scientific agriculture, that certain sites in the Central Provinces, once considered unculturable, have been proved capable of yielding excellent crops. But second only in importance to the utilisation of land now untilled is the improvement of the crops from land already under cultivation. In Bengal, strains of rice and jute selected by the Department of Agriculture at present occupy roughly 250,000 and 100,000 acres, respectively. Taking the average increased yields of the improved paddy and jute over the local rice which they have replaced to be 240 lbs. and 160 lbs. respectively, which is really a very modest estimate—it has been calculated that in the year under review the Bengal cultivator in the aggregate will be better off on this account alone by a quarter of million sterling. This figure may be expected to increase rapidly, for practically the whole rice and jute crops of the province will probably be influenced within

A Striking Achievement.

a short time. If this can be effected, the net income of the cultivators of rice and jute in Bengal will be increased by as much as £7½ million sterling.

Equally admirable work is being done elsewhere in India by the various provincial Departments of Agriculture, and if only they can be expanded proportionately to the magnitude of the task before them, the future of Indian agriculture may be regarded as assured. But, like every other branch of Government's activity, scientific agriculture in India is under-financed. The head-quarters of the Imperial Department of Agriculture, which is located at Pusa, costs only £40,000 a year; while the total expenditure of the provincial departments, which are responsible for the actual working of scientific agriculture up and down India, amounts to the absurdly inadequate figure of less than £470,000.

Proposals for the reorganisation of the Provincial Departments, excluding Burma, involving the creation of 37 new appointments, were recently submitted to the Secretary of State: but in view of the changes which will take place on the introduction of the Reforms Scheme, it was decided that only such appointments as were urgently required should be created.

Work of the Year.

A brief survey of the progress achieved during the period under review will show first the solidity of the work of the Department of Agriculture, and secondly the necessity of that work's rapid extension. As was the case in the preceding year, a large proportion of the time of the Department has been devoted to increasing the outturn of food-crops. An extensive cultivation of selected strains and the adoption of improved cultural methods worked out by the Department will beyond question raise the average yield of most of the crops. But the problem which is presenting itself with steadily increasing gravity is this: the heavy yielding varieties now in great demand will in time tend to exhaust the productive power of the soil, hence the Department, concurrently with its work in improving and introducing these varieties, is faced with the necessity of tracing the factors inherent in the soil which determine fertility so that these varieties may not impose too heavy a strain upon the land. It is not too much to say that on the solution of this problem hang issues of vital importance to the Empire. Fortunately it still lies largely in the future, for at present the main thing is still to secure the introduction of the heavy yielding varieties themselves. But it is satisfactory to note that the Agricultural Department is fully alive to the necessity of facing a problem which if not tackled in time will assuredly assume a seriousness directly proportionate to the success achieved by the work of the next few years.

Turning to particular food-crops, we find that the total area under rice was just short of 79·5 million acres against 80 million acres in the preceding year. Owing to the failure of the crop over extended areas, the total yield was only 24·7 million tons in the year 1918-19. The importance of this crop not merely to India but to Asia is very great. Around the Bay of Bengal lies one of the great rice producing tracts of the world, and much work has already been accomplished in placing better varieties of plant at the disposal of the cultivator. Although the improved strains even now occupy only 250,000 acres out of 21,000,000 acres of riceland in the province, the grain supply has already been increased by 28,000 tons.

Rice.

If this important crop can be improved throughout, it will enhance the prosperity of a larger proportion of the people of India throughout a larger area than can be affected by the improvement of any other single crop. In Burma also important work has been done, and the demand for the pure line of seeds furnished by the Department is greater than the supply. Notable also has been the work accomplished upon wheat, despite the fact that this year on account of unfavourable weather conditions the total yield fell from 10 million tons to 7·5 million tons, and the acreage from 35·5 to 23·8 million. Indian wheat is as a rule of a low quality, and fetches low prices in the world's market. The work of the Department has mainly been directed towards evolving and distributing strains of superior yielding power, quality of grain, and strength of straw; as well as towards bringing about intensive cultivation and the isolation of rust-resisting types. These objects have largely been obtained in the varieties brought at Pusa known as "Pusa 12" and "Pusa 4." As the increased value of the crop is at least £1 an acre, the cultivation of the strains is rapidly spreading. Indeed, during the season 1918-19 the area under these two types was not less than half a million acres. In the Punjab alone, the wheat crop was about 11,000 tons more than it would have been without the Department's help; and as a testimony of the excellence of these strains, it may be mentioned that they are now coming into cultivation in foreign countries.

Wheat.

Turning now to cotton, we find that the yield of the crop of 1918-19 was estimated at nearly 4 million bales on an area of 21 million acres as compared with 4 million bales on an area of 25·2 million acres of the preceding year. The efforts of the Department towards the improvement of the crop are directed mainly to selection and hybridisation in order to obtain the better quality of lint required by the trade without impairing the yield and hardiness of the crop. In Bombay, the Department has now got several strains of high yielding and high ginning cotton, the

Cotton.

staple of which is above the average. Certain of these strains have proved to be excellent both from the point of view of the cultivator and of the trade. Constant labour is devoted to the task of maintaining the best types free from contamination. In lower Gujerat, for example, the original Broach staple, one of the best in India, was recently swamped to an alarming extent by other types of inferior quality. The trade is however co-operating with the Department to retrieve the situation ; and pure improved seed has now been distributed to the extent of about 6,000 acres in the neighbourhood of Surat. In Madras the fight against the low grade cotton has now been pushed to a successful conclusion, with the result that the inferior crop, once a real obstacle to improvement, is now practically extinct in the main cotton growing areas. In the Punjab, practically all the American cotton grown now consists of the Departmental selection termed " 4-F," which at a low estimate is worth at least £1 per acre more than the local counts. The area under this variety is estimated at over half a million acres during the year under review, as against under 400,000 acres in 1917-18. The increase in the cultivator's profits on account of the selection amounts to a very large sum. An immense field lies open to the extension of long staple cotton throughout India, and to the improvement of existing methods of ginning and marketing. The whole question has recently been examined by a committee, whose report may be expected to exercise a great influence upon the future of the cotton industry. Among the recommendations which are now being considered by the Indian and Local Governments is the establishment of a Central Cotton Committee, for the purpose of safeguarding the welfare of the cotton industry throughout India.

Sugar-cane.

Among other important operations of the Department of Agriculture may be mentioned the work which has been done towards the improvement of the sugar-cane crops. Despite the fact that India has a larger area under sugar-cane than any other country in the world, a very large quantity, some half a million tons of sugar, was imported during 1918-19. With nearly half the world's acreage under sugar-cane, India's normal out-put is only one-fourth of the world's cane sugar supply. Unable to satisfy even her own requirements, she has to import large quantities of sugar at what are now very high prices. Since these prices at present afford an additional stimulus to sugar production, the opportunity has been taken by Government to investigate the possibilities of reorganising and developing the sugar industry of the country. A strong committee has been appointed to enquire into the subject. Meanwhile, a bureau for the supply of information regarding sugar industry has been established at Pusa, and much valuable work on the improvement of the crop has been done at the cane-breeding station at Coim-

batore. Throughout the sugar-cane area of India there are substantial indications that the old varieties are losing favour with the cultivator and are fast being replaced by new and improved varieties supplied by the Department. In many places, however, the question of improved cultivation is of greater importance than the introduction of new varieties; for crude sugar manufactured on improved lines fetches from 6*s*. to 10*s*. more per unit of 500 lbs.

Jute.

In the case of jute and other fibres, work of first rate importance has also been accomplished. The conditions created by the war have necessitated a thorough investigation of the fibre resources of India. At the present moment, India enjoys a practical monopoly of the world's supply of jute. In profit to the cultivator and to the manufacturer, it is doubtful whether any other crop in India can successfully compete with jute, for the production is far short of the demand. The evolution of improved strains, immune from disease, and of a greater yield is the end to which the Department directs its work. It has been found that money expended on lime, bone, and potash manure practically trebles the net revenue per acre, and in doing so yields an interest at approximately 100 per cent. per annum. These results, as well as improved methods of cultivation, are being demonstrated widely to the cultivators, and when adopted extensively will increase in marked degree the profits to be derived from this crop.

Indigo.

Like jute, indigo is a crop the production of which has been much stimulated by the war. The season 1918-19 was not favourable, and the total area fell to 296,000 acres, which was 58 per cent. less than that of the preceding year. The demand for dye-stuffs, which became universal when the supplies of synthetic dyes from Germany were cut off, gave a temporary impetus to the growth of indigo. But if natural indigo is to compete successfully in the open market with the synthetic product, the *indican* contained in the indigo plant must be increased by selection. Already the increased production of artificial dyes in the United Kingdom has reduced her demand for the natural product from 5,500 cwt. to 4,700 cwt. There was however a noticeable increase in the exports to Japan, which has unquestionably helped the indigo industry during the year under review.

Tobacco.

In contrast to the somewhat depressing prospects of natural indigo, comes the progress which is being made in the Indian tobacco industry. The demand for the improved type of tobacco seed which has been evolved at Pusa has been steadily increasing, and last year could not be met in full. The fact that the total imports of cigarettes and other tobacco rose from over £1·1 million in 1917-18 to £1·4 million in the year 1918-19,

shows that there is a considerable future before the cigarette and tobacco factories of India.

The oil seed crop also claimed a certain amount of the Department's attention, particularly in Burma. Varieties of sesamum grown in that province were collected and kept under observation, with the result that selection has now been narrowed down within limits which make yield tests possible. It has been definitely proved that drill-sowing of sesamum increases the yield by 20 per cent. over that obtained by the broad-casting method at present employed. In Madras, where the cocoanut crop is of great importance, considerable progress in improved yields of nuts has been achieved upon an experimental scale. It has been proposed to establish cocoanut plantations in Burma, and a survey may indicate areas on the Arakan coast where such plantations are likely to thrive. For both the oil and the by-products there is an unlimited market.

Tea, Coffee, Rubber.

In tea, coffee, and rubber, valuable work has been done. The total production of tea rose to 380 million lbs. from 371 million in the last year. The Indian Tea Association continues to maintain a scientific department for the investigation of all problems connected with this crop, and in Southern India, tea receives special attention from the Deputy Director of Agriculture for the planting districts. A new hybrid strain of coffee has been arrived at by selection, which possesses a value far above that of ordinary coffee grown in Southern India. It has now been tried on an estate scale with results which have so far been extraordinarily good.

Fruit Growing.

Along with the experimental work in connection with fruit culture in Baluchistan mentioned in last year's report, must be placed the extensive work on fruit crops which has been undertaken by the Bombay Department of Agriculture during the year under review. Progress on such a subject must necessarily be slow, and it is only rarely possible to convert a dying industry into a flourishing one in a few years. But this has actually been achieved in the case of the grape-growing industry of Nasik and Ahmednagar as a result of the introduction by the Agriculture Department of spraying against the grape-vine mildew.

Fodder.

Fodder crops and grasses naturally constitute a problem of the very greatest importance in a country where the bullock is the principal motive power for cultivation, and where the proportion of head of cattle to head of population is so high. During the year under review, the fodder question was particularly important on account of the acute famine conditions prevailing, especially in Bombay, during 1919. The widespread fodder scarcity has brought into special prominence the importance of utilising all available resources of fodder and storage against the demands of

lean years. The whole question of the provision of fodder reserves is at present under the consideration of the Administration. Meanwhile, the Agriculture Department has performed invaluable work in demonstrating the advantages of new fodder crops, the possibilities of securing larger outturn, and of producing fodder on idle lands. Excellent results have also been achieved in introducing improved methods of storing surplus fodder. The use of silos has been proved to be of great value, and their extension is now seriously taken up. Experiments have proved that splendid silage can be made in the Deccan, and that 65 per cent. of the original green weight can be taken out in four or five months. It has been found that cactus when suitably prepared affords a most useful adjunct to the fodder crops. Particularly during the recent shortage of fodder cactus has been of great value. In the Ahmednagar district by its aid a very large number of cattle that would otherwise have died, have been successfully brought through the scarcity period.

Agricultural chemistry has continued to form an important part of the activities of the Department of Agriculture. Agricultural chemists have all along been studying the Indian soil and the factors governing crop production, with results which have in many cases brought about increased outturns of the valuable strains evolved by their colleagues. Much however has still to be done and there is need for the provision of specialised laboratories with separate staffs. Recommendations on this subject made at the conference held at Pusa in February 1919, are now under consideration. In Bengal, despite all difficulties, considerable progress has been made with the provincial soil survey, and elsewhere in India the study of soils and manures is being actively carried on.

Mycology.

A study of pests, both plant and insect, is a matter of great importance in India. Plant diseases caused by fungus parasites are numerous and destructive. The staff of Mycologists is at present small in comparison to the number of problems awaiting investigation, but already they can claim success in checking the ravages of disease. None of the provinces except Madras has got its own Mycologist, but proposals have been put forward for establishing posts in the United Provinces, the Central Provinces, and Bombay. During the year under review, important work has been done in investigating the diseases of paddy, jute, sugar-cane, chillies, tea, rubber and palm trees. Against insect pests also, a continual war is waged. There are however only four Imperial Service officers for the whole of India, and it is difficult to achieve much progress in the education of the Indian cultivator in the importance of insect pests and the possibilities of their control. Steady progress on scientific lines has however been made in working out the life histories of most of the insects afflicting Indian crops and of their parasites. It takes a very long time to eradicate

Insect Pests.

from the mind of the cultivator the idea that blights come from the clouds as a symptom of the wrath of heaven. But gradually, it is hoped, by means of energetic propaganda, to instil into the minds of the people that pests can be controlled, and that the damage caused annually to crops can be minimised at the cost of a little intelligence.

Agricultural Engineering.

That important section of the work of the Department of Agriculture which is constituted by Agricultural Engineering has had to labour under substantial difficulties during the period under review. The exceedingly high level maintained by the prices of all improved agricultural appliances together with the raw material for their manufacture, has seriously retarded their more general introduction. None-the-less progress, if small, has been quite appreciable. Operations were indeed considerably extended in Bombay and elsewhere, owing to the impetus supplied by famine conditions. At present the demand for pumping installation has continued to be great, and can only be met to a very limited extent. The introduction of grain elevators to obviate the shortage of labour in certain provinces is also under consideration. There is indeed unlimited scope for the general development of agricultural engineering in India, and if material progress is not to be seriously hampered, there is urgent need for increasing the expert staff.

Veterinary Work.

The conditions under which veterinary work has been carried on in India during the period under review, did not differ substantially from those sketched in the last year's report. It is believed that there are about 65 head of cattle to every 100 head of population, so that the improvement of the breed, both in the way of milk-giving capacity and of strength, becomes a problem of the greatest urgency. There is great necessity for the provision of suitable breeding bulls; and the opening of breeding studs at different centres by Government, by district boards, and by municipalities, has become a matter of much importance. The general ideas prevailing regarding cattle breeding are reported from many quarters to be deplorable. A scheme for cattle breeding and dairying in India, recommended in 1916 by the Board of Agriculture, has been accepted in its main outlines by the Secretary of State. It provides for an organisation which, working on the material furnished by the military dairy farms, will undertake breeding operations designed to improve the milking qualities of Indian cattle, and will inaugurate systematic education in dairying by opening schools. There is much room for such work in India. A further difficulty is to prevent mortality of cattle from such diseases as rinderpest; but in spite of great disabilities, such as shortage of staff, considerable progress has been made in several provinces. Large number of dispensaries are doing good work

and contagious disease is receiving greater and greater attention. But the investigations of the Department are rendered to some extent fruitless by the ignorance of villagers, who do not sufficiently understand the fatal nature of contagious cattle diseases and the disastrous results which follow from the neglect of ordinary precautions. Much work remains to be done, especially in the way of educational propaganda for the spreading of improved ideas in cattle sanitation.

Irrigation.

Perhaps the most important condition of the growth of agriculture in India, with all which that growth implies, is the prosperity and extension of the irrigation system. As was pointed out in last year's report, irrigation in India is carried out in four principal ways. In the first place, by placing some form of barrage across a river which flows throughout the year, water may be diverted through a canal to the country which is to be irrigated. This is a method by which the great perennial canals of Northern India are constructed. The second method is by leading canals direct from rivers without the use of barrages. These canals which obtain no water until the river reaches a certain height are known as inundation canals, and they constitute the majority of the canals in Sind, and many of those in the South-West of the Punjab. The third method is by building a dam across a valley, and storing the rainfall water during the monsoon. The water so held is distributed to neighbouring lands through canals. The reservoirs thus formed vary in size from the tiny village tank to the monumental works in the Western Ghauts with masonry dams up to 270 feet in height. The fourth method is by lifting water from wells, either by such indigenous and primitive methods as the leathern bag hauled by bullocks and the Persian wheel, or by means of power driven pumps. The last system is gradually growing more common, thanks to the efforts of Government agricultural engineers.

Classification of Works.

It should further be noted that for the purpose of allotment of funds, Government irrigation and navigation works are classified under three main heads; first, productive works; the second, protective works; and the third, minor works. Before work can be classified as productive, the main condition to be satisfied is that there must be ground for thinking that its net revenue will, within ten years of completion, suffice to cover the annual interest charges on the capital invested. To the end of the year 1918-19 the capital outlay on productive works, if we exclude canals used solely for navigation, had amounted to £38·7 millions. In that year, the total receipts including land revenue due to irrigation from the productive canals, amounted to nearly £5 millions, and the total expenses including interest to £2·75 millions. The net profit therefore during the year 1918-19 from productive works was about £2·2 millions, giving nearly 5·7 per cent. upon the original outlay.

Irrigation works classed as protective are those, which though not directly remunerative to the extent which would justify their inclusion in the class of productive works, are constructed with a view to the protection of precarious tracts. They guard against the necessity for periodical expenditure on the relief of the population in famine time. The cost of these works is a charge against current revenues of India, and is generally met from the annual grant set aside for famine relief and insurance. By the end of 1918-19, the capital outlay on protective works was £7 millions. For the year 1918-19, the total receipts, including land revenue due to irrigation, amounted to over £107,000, and the total expenses, including interest on debt, to £325,000, the net loss amounting to just over £218,000, representing a percentage of 3 upon the capital outlay.

Minor works comprise those irrigation and navigation works not classed as productive or protective, as well as agricultural works undertaken for the general improvement of the country. The outlay upon minor works is met from current revenue, and there are some 120 of such works for which capital and revenue accounts are kept. Capital expenditure upon them totals about £4·6 millions, while the direct and indirect receipts in 1918-19 were just over £427,000, resulting in a profit of rather less than £169,000.

Irrigation Statistics.

During the year 1918-19, the total length of main and branch canals and distributaries from which irrigation was done amounted to over 66,120 miles. During the same period, these channels irrigated an area of over 25 million acres out of a total culturable commanded area of about double that extent. Besides the canals actually in operation, there were during the year 1918-19, 15 major works under construction at an estimated cost of nearly £2·6 millions. The net revenue anticipated from these works is £104,000. Projects for 7 major works estimated to cost about £6½ millions and to produce a net revenue of £453,000 are now awaiting sanction. Among these may be mentioned the Grand Trunk Canal in Bengal,

Future Projects.

the scheme for which has lately been submitted to the Secretary of State. Eleven projects are being further investigated by the Local Governments concerned under the orders of the Government of India. The cost of these works is estimated at about £31 millions, and their net annual revenue at about £2⅓ millions. The most important of these works are the Thal or Sind-Sagar Doab project, and the Sutlej Valley project in the Punjab, and the Sukkar barrage project in Sind. The Sukkar barrage project provides for a weir across the Indus, with two large canals taking off from the right and left banks of the river to supply water for the perennial irrigation of areas now dependent upon inundation canals. The estimated capital outlay amounts to over £7⅓ millions. The Thal project

in the Punjab comprises a barrage on the Indus river with an extensive canal system. This scheme will provide for the irrigation of some $1\frac{3}{4}$ million acres, and will cost about £$6\frac{3}{8}$ millions. The Bhakra Dam Scheme on the Sutlej is estimated to cost about £9 million, and is being designed to store water to a depth of 360 feet above the river bed. About 1·4 million acres would be irrigated, and the dam, if built as now designed, will be higher than any in existence.

Of the important projects now under the consideration of the Government of India the Cauvery (Metur) reservoir project in Madras comprises a dam, a canal 78 miles long, and a connected distributary system. The works are estimated to cost between £2 millions and £3 millions and to yield a return of over 5 per cent. on the capital outlay. They will, it is anticipated, give 371,000 acres of new irrigation, in addition to providing for the complete control of the present fluctuating supplies of the Cauvery-delta system. The further consideration of the project is deferred pending the settlement of a dispute between the Governments of Madras and Mysore. The proposed Sarda Oudh canal, which is now being further investigated by the Local Government, will if constructed rank among the largest irrigation works in the world. The gross area commanded is over 8 million acres, of which nearly 2 million will be irrigated annually. The net capital outlay is expected to be about £4 millions, and the net revenue anticipated will represent a return of over 9 per cent. on this outlay. The Sutlej Valley project, which is expected shortly from the Government of the Punjab, will irrigate more than 3 million acres in the Punjab and in certain Indian States.

Areas Irrigated.

At the present moment, no less than 13 per cent. of the total cropped area is irrigated by Government irrigation works, and the estimated value of the crops in a single year exceeds by more than 25 per cent. the total capital outlay expended on these works. The greatest area irrigated by Government in any one province is to be found in the Punjab, where nearly 9 million acres are dependent for their water supply upon the irrigation system. For the past quarter of a century no less than 270,000 acres annually have been added to the irrigated area of the province. Until the early eighties canal construction had been confined to the more populous parts of the Punjab. Thereafter the drier districts and waste lands began to receive attention. Systematic irrigation has reclaimed from the desert and peopled the lands which were previously lost to India from a productive point of view. Inundation canals taking off from the right bank of the Sutlej opposite Ferozepore and from the left bank of the Ravi near Multan, were constructed between 1883 and 1887. They were immediately successful and the precedent has been followed with vigour. The most important of the canals which enabled land, for centuries waste, to be brought under cultivation

The Punjab.

and colonized is the Lower Chenab canal. This is easily the most productive canal in India, irrigating in 1918-19 nearly 2½ million acres, and producing a net revenue of nearly £950,000. This represents a return of 44 per cent. upon the capital outlay. Another very important canal of the same order is the Lower Jhelum canal irrigating 800,000 acres and returning over 20 per cent. upon the capital outlay of something more than £1 million.

Irrigation in Madras.

In Madras nearly 7 million acres are irrigated by Government works. During the past half century, the areas irrigated by protective and productive works together is more than doubled. Prior to the advent of British rule, irrigation from tanks and inundation canals had been extensively practised; and up to the year 1876, all the irrigation works constructed by the British took the form of diverting rivers either directly on to the fields, or into existing tanks. But in that year, further extension of irrigation necessitated the construction of new storage works. Among these may be mentioned the Periyar lake which is perhaps the boldest and most interesting reservoir scheme in India. The Periyar river, with its source in the Western Ghauts, flows westward through Travancore. The Madras engineers constructed an immense masonry dam 175 feet in height—no light task in an almost inaccessible gorge 3,000 feet above the sea—thereby creating a reservoir of over 9 million cubic feet capacity. The water from the reservoir is carried by means of a channel 1¼ miles long through a range of mountains to the opposite side of the watershed, thereby diverting the river from the Western to the Eastern slope of the ridge. In 1914, 174,000 acres were being irrigated from the lake.

Bombay.

In Sind and the Deccan together about 3 million acres are irrigated by Government works. Canal irrigation in Sind is of quite a different nature from that of other parts of the Bombay Presidency. Although the soil of Sind is mostly very fertile, until it is brought under irrigation, the land presents everywhere the appearance of a desert. The canals are mainly dependent for their water-supply upon inundation, and the Sukkar barrage scheme, to which reference has already been made, is designed to remedy this. In Sind over 2½ million acres, more than one quarter of the culturable area of the province, are irrigated. In the Deccan and Gujarat however no more than 340,000 acres out of 28 million acres of culturable land are under irrigation. Here the prospects for future development may be said to be almost incalculable. The capital expenditure on irrigation works in Sind up to date has been over 2 million and the gross revenue derived from it during the year under review was some £252,000. In the Deccan and Gujerat, the capital expenditure has been £1⅓ millions, and the revenue from all sources during 1918-19 nearly

£85,000. The United Provinces contain over 3½ million acres of land irrigated by Government works. In 1918-19, the gross revenue from all classes of works amounted to over £907,000, giving a revenue of a sum just under £648,000. Interest in the immediate future will here concentrate upon the Sarda canal project. This scheme for utilizing the water of the Sarda river is comprised of two parts, *viz.*, the Sarda Kichha Feeder and the proposed Sarda Canal for Oudh. A weir will be built across the Sarda river near Tanakpur at a point where the river debouches into the plains and a feeder canal will take off from the right flank of the weir. This canal will run in a westerly direction across the Tarai to the Kichha river and is called the Sarda Kichha Feeder. The project for this Feeder has been sanctioned by the Secretary of State. It includes provision for the headworks and first 7¼ miles of the canal, which have been designed to supply the Oudh Canal also. The estimated cost of the work is £1¾ million. It will irrigate an area of 345,000 acres and bring in a return of 6·3 per cent. on the capital outlay. Distributaries will be provided from it to irrigate the Bareilly district and those portions of the Shahjahanpur and Hardoi districts between the Garra and Ramganga rivers.

United Provinces.

The proposed Oudh canal will take off from mile 7¼ of the Sarda Kichha Feeder and will run in a southerly direction dividing in the 18th mile into three branches. This system will provide irrigation in Pilibhit, the Northern part of the Shahjahanpur district and the country between the Gogra and Ganges rivers up to the western borders of the Allahabad, Jaunpur and Fyzabad districts.

From a consideration of the progress which has been accomplished in the development of India's agricultural resources, we turn to the achievements in realising two other sources of potential wealth—her forests and her fisheries.

The Indian forests are a source of considerable profit to the State, yielding a net revenue in 1917-18 of rather more than 1·25 million sterling. The area covered by forests under the control of the Forest Department in India exceeds 250,000 square miles, of which so far only 100,000 square miles have been brought under regular management, systematic conservation and scientific working.

Forests.

During the year under review, the financial position continued to restrict expenditure on forest development, but the commercial activities of the department were steadily kept in view. The Government of India accepted the invitation of the Board of Trade to participate in the British Empire Timber Exhibition which will be held in London, July 1920. The Provincial Governments have been requested to

Market for Indian Timber.

send samples of various kinds of timber to England for the purpose, and it is hoped that one result of the exhibition will be to establish a steady market in the United Kingdom for Indian timbers. Considerable attention has been devoted to the problems of extraction and utilization. The Madras Presidency has followed the example of the United Provinces in appointing a forest utilization officer, and the Secretary of State has appointed two American consulting forest engineers to assist Local Governments in the solution of their particular problems. A scheme for the formation of a cadre of forest engineers in India has been sanctioned, under which a regular service of engineers, to be paid on the same scale as officers of the Imperial Forest Service, is contemplated. Candidates after recruitment will undergo a course of training in America.

Forest Industries.

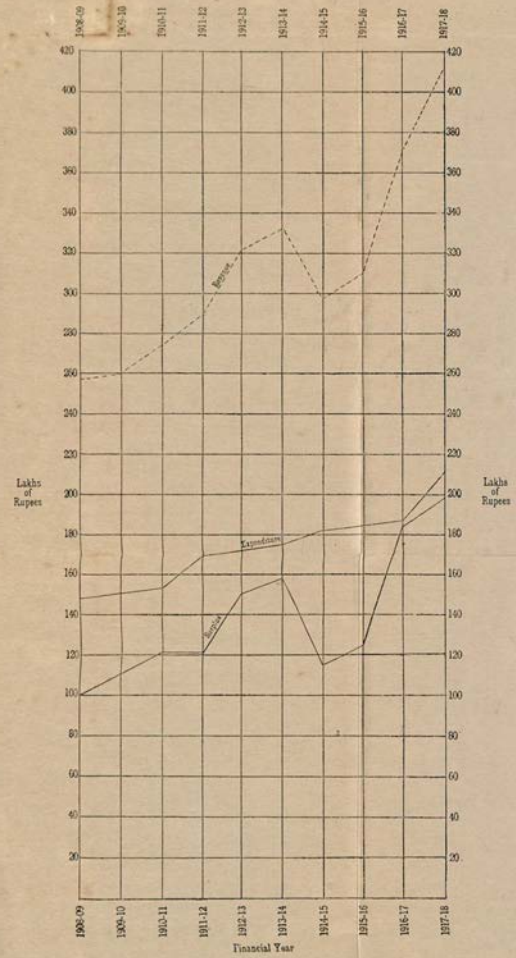
An examination of the profits derived from the working of the Indian forests shows that during the last 50 years, the increase has been nearly tenfold. With the increasing development of forest industries, there is every reason to hope that India's forests will be of greater asset to her financial prosperity. Among the most important of these industries is the rosin industry located principally in the United Provinces and the Punjab. This industry is very largely the creation of war condition; for the reduction in direct imports of American turpentine during the year gave it an impetus which it is hoped will have lasting results. For the development of this industry, there is enormous scope. There is no reason why the ultimate production of Indian turpentine should not exceed 1½ million gallons, and of rosin four cwt. A French manufacturing plant modified to suit Indian conditions has been installed at Jallo in the Punjab, and the new rosin distillery at Bhowali in the United Provinces will, when completed, largely increase the total outturn. During the year 1917-18, some 46,000 cwt. of rosin and nearly 140,000 gallons of turpentine were produced, as against 44,000 and 130,000 respectively in the preceding year. There are also excellent prospects for the development of the paper industry. The consumption of paper and paste-board in India amounts to some 75,000 tons *per annum*, of which at present India herself supplies only one-third. The forest areas contain enormous supplies of bamboo and elephant grass which could be utilised for the manufacture of all the paper and paste-board now imported. In this connection it is interesting to note that the Government of Burma has recently entered into an agreement with Messrs. Jamal Brothers of Rangoon for the extraction by this firm of bamboo from certain forest reserves for the manufacture of paper pulp.

In April 1919 a Committee, composed of Forest officers and representatives of commercial firms interested in the subject, sat at Dehra Dun to consider the question of the development of the lac industry. They recommended that the whole question should be carefully examined

DIAGRAM SHOWING

ANNUAL FOREST REVENUE, EXPENDITURE & SURPLUS.

FOR THE 10 YEARS 1908-09 TO 1917-18



by an Imperial Officer who should be placed on special duty for the purpose. This recommendation was considered by the Government of India and the conclusion come to was that the question required to be examined from the following stand-points :—

(*a*) methods of manufacture, systems of marketting and the industries which employ lac : and
(*b*) methods of leasing concessions, methods of cultivation and collection,

and that two officers should be employed on this enquiry, one to deal with the Sylvicultural and the other with the Commercial side of the question. But before the forest industries of India can be established upon a sound basis, there is need of expert investigation upon a more extensive scale than has hitherto been possible. In last year's report it was noticed that the Indian Industrial Commission had decided that

Forest Research Institute.

the Forest Research Institute of Dehra Dun did not possess an equipment sufficient to meet the calls made upon it. In accordance with these recommendations, a general scheme for the enlargement of the Forest Research Institute and College has been submitted to the Secretary of State for sanction. These proposals involve large increases in the research staff, and the construction of a more ample building upon a new site to be acquired for the purpose. During the current financial year, the Government of India sanctioned an expenditure of some £20,000 sterling, and deputed one officer to England to purchase plant for the Institute and another to America to study research into forest economics.

Fisheries.

While for some years attention has been increasingly directed to the development of that portion of India's natural wealth which is to be found in her forest land, it is only comparatively recently that any attention has been directed towards her fisheries. The report of the Indian Industrial Commission affords striking evidence of the immense future which awaits a more active development in this sphere. The quantity of fish consumed in many cities and towns within reasonable distance from the coast is considerable ; but the dearness and irregular supply of this commodity is the subject of general complaint. The conditions of the fish trade are such as to make any attempt to set the fish industry upon a better footing somewhat difficult, for fishermen are usually of low caste, ignorant, idle, and uneducated. They have a low standard of comfort and are mercilessly exploited by middlemen whose exactions lessen the supply of fish and add greatly to its cost. In Bengal the importance of the fish trade may be gathered from the fact that during the year 1918-19 more than 11,000 tons of fish were transported from the places of catching to different parts of the province. There is one official department

for the two provinces of Bengal and Bihar and Orissa, and the staff needs to be increased before it can deal with the problems which confront it. In the case of the fresh water fisheries of Bengal, the methods of working are so disastrous that the fisheries are getting depleted from year to year, while the demand for fish is steadily increasing. To meet these demands, continuous and ruthless fishing is carried on throughout the year without any closed seasons, both brood and immature fish being destroyed in large numbers while even the spawn and fry are not spared. The enforcement of protective measures for the fisheries is an extremely difficult matter, which calls for urgent attention. It is proposed to appoint district fishery officers to rouse a popular interest in the subject; and there can be no doubt that the whole question of fishery in Bengal and Bihar and Orissa demands urgent attention if irreparable damage is not to be carried further than has already been the case.

Bengal.

In Madras, the prospect is considerably brighter. As a result of the exertions of the Madras Fisheries Department, some 250 small fish-oil factories have been established along the coast, mainly by the fishermen themselves. In the year under review, fish oil to the value of nearly £7,000 and fish guano to the value of nearly £30,000 have been exported from the West coast of the Madras Presidency. A fish cannery equipped with modern plant has been established at Beypore, and there is no doubt that the prospects for the canned fish industry are extremely promising. But as in Bengal so in Madras, it is difficult to introduce improved conditions into the fishing industry until some progress has been made in raising the moral and material condition of the fishermen. During the period under review, the outstanding feature of the activities of the Madras Fisheries Department has been the introduction of an educational scheme providing for specialised primary education for the fisher community. Co-operative ideas were also promulgated, and anti-malarial operations, for which there is much need, made some headway. In general it may be stated that the development of Indian fisheries depends to a very large degree on the progress of education and of co-operative ideas among those engaged upon it.

Madras.

Co-operation.

In the preceding pages of this chapter, we have briefly sketched the work which is being directed towards the development of these natural resources upon which the people of India depend for their present existence and future prosperity. But in order that full advantage may be derived from this work, another line of progress must be concurrently persued, namely, the amelioration of the material conditions which now shape the lives of the masses. Until this can in some measure be achieved, the people of India can derive adequate benefit neither from the natural resources of their country nor from any opportunities for

self-advancement which the administration may be able to put before them.

Sanitation.

During the course of the period under review, the need for a concerted effort both on the part of the people and of the administration towards improving the sanitary conditions amidst which the masses of India live has been more and more realized. Despite the labour which of recent years has been directed towards this end, it is difficult to perceive that sanitary development has taken place in India to any perceptible degree. That this should be the case is no reflection upon the handful of officers who constitute the sanitary department of Government; for the immense population of India and its general poverty make sanitary reform a problem of immense difficulty. Without a widespread movement, backed not merely by the efforts of the administration, but by the enthusiastic co-operation of the educated classes, it will be almost impossible to secure India from disastrous epidemics. The best organized preventive medical service in the world must work in vain unless it finds the right atmosphere in which to carry on its labour. An ignorant populace, not understanding either the value of advice or the meaning of orders, will not follow the former, and will, actively or passively, resist the latter.

Difficulties.

The vital necessity of impressing a knowledge of the elementary principles of public health upon all classes, both educated and non-educated, cannot be doubted. But the difficulty of the task which confronts the administration can scarcely be estimated by those who have not first-hand knowledge of India's conditions. Great progress has already been made in research into tropical diseases; but the sheer magnitude of the task before the sanitary staff in India has hitherto tended to prevent the widespread application of the beneficial results to which research has led. The

Influenza.

great calamity which overtook India in the influenza epidemic mentioned in last year's report has been responsible for attracting a larger share both of public and of official attention to the necessity of grappling earnestly with the problems of sanitation. Amongst the steps already taken by the Government of India to cope with the spread of influenza may be mentioned the manufacture of *anti*-influenza vaccine which is supplied at cost price and the issue of detailed instructions by way of precautionary measures. Some evidence of the growing popularity of inoculation is furnished by the large manufacture and supply of the anti-Cholera vaccine.

Urban Sanitation.

In the great cities like Bombay and Calcutta, the Improvement Trusts backed by Government are making serious attempts to grapple with the insanitary conditions under which a large portion of the proletariat live. Extensive

schemes of improvement are now under consideration, and although in the past there has been much delay in realizing the seriousness of the problem, there can be no doubt that both the public and the administration are now determined to arrive at a satisfactory solution of this important matter with the smallest possible delay. Nor is it only in the large centres of population that sanitary conditions are so bad. It must be remembered that less than 10 per cent. of the total population of India live in towns; the remainder live in villages which have been all too truly described as collections of insanitary dwellings constructed on dung-hills. It is in grappling with the sanitation of the rural population that the greatest difficulty is found for the people are conservative, set in their ways, and wedded by long usuage to social customs at variance with modern conceptions of public and private sanitation. Until their whole outlook—and there are over 200 millions of them in British India—on such matters can be changed, the problem of rural sanitation can never be satisfactorily solved. But, quite apart from the housing question, there are many problems of public health in India which call for urgent solution. Among the most pressing of these is infantile mortality. A study of the following diagrams will show that the ratio of infant mortality per thousand of the population varies from 248 in the Punjab to 180 in Bihar and Orissa; the figure for the whole of British India being 206. When it is stated that the ratio for the United Kingdom is only 91 per thousand of the population, and that the total mortality for British India in 1917 was just short of 2 million, it will be realized what a terrible waste of infant life annually occurs. For some time, Government has been alive to the seriousness of the situation, but until public opinion has been educated to the right degree of receptivity, not merely among the few men of advanced opinions but among the mass of the educated classes, the meagre resources of the administration can accomplish little. During the year under review, increasing attention has been devoted to this problem. In Bombay, Calcutta and other large centres, committees are being formed to investigate the whole question of child welfare to establish infant milk depôts, and to improve the methods and training of the indigenous midwives. Another problem of vital importance is that of leprosy. At present, the total number of lepers in India is probably between 100,000 and 150,000. But they constitute a grave danger to the community. Excellent work is being done here by voluntary agency with the support of Government, but there is urgent need for a greater amount of support from the public than is at present forthcoming. Plague is unfortunately endemic in India; but it is very encouraging to find that the number of deaths recorded in the period 1st July 1918 to 30th

Rural Sanitation.

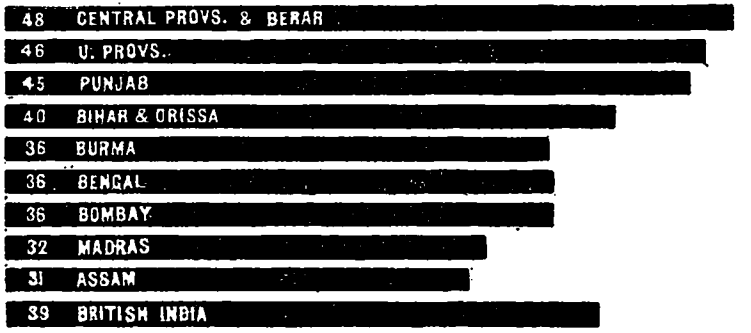
Leprosy.

Plague.

Ratio of births, deaths and infantile mortality in the major provinces of British India in 1917, as compared with those in the United Kingdom.

(*a*) **Birth rate per 1,000 of population**

British India



United Kingdom

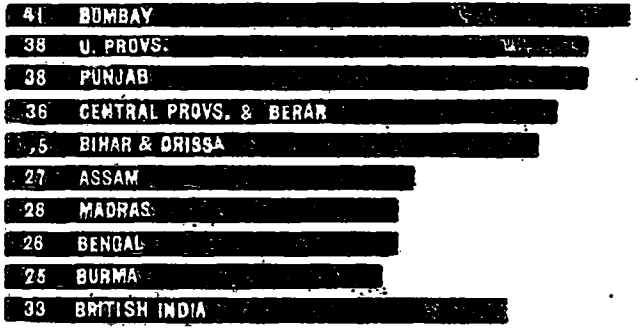
Births.	
Province.	Actual number of births.
1 United Provinces	2,157,642
2 Bengal	1,627,873
3 Bihar and Orissa.	1,395,157
4 Madras	1,295,078
5 Punjab	876,733
6 Bombay	699,823
7 Central Provinces and Berar . .	669,842
8 Burma	356,136
9 Assam	189,741
TOTAL BRITISH INDIA .	9,379,349
1 England and Wales . . .	668,340
2 Scotland	97,482
3 Ireland	86,405
TOTAL UNITED KINGDOM .	852,227

Continued on next page.

Ratio of births, deaths and infantile mortality in the major provinces of British India in 1917, as compared with those in the United Kingdom—*contd.*

(*b*) Death rate per 1,000 of population

British India

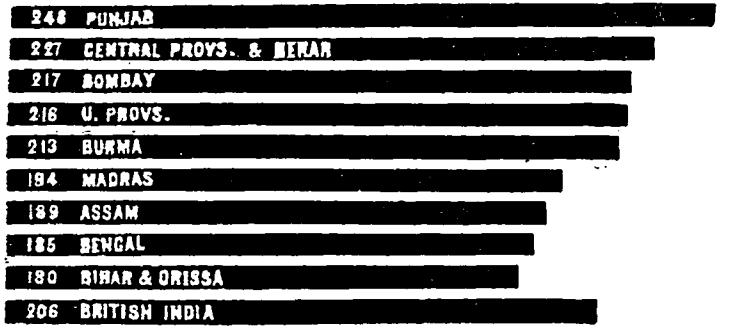


United Kingdom

Deaths.	
Provinces.	Actual number of deaths.
1 United Provinces	1,774,896
2 Bihar and Orissa	1,214,551
3 Bengal	1,187,509
4 Madras	1,049,545
5 Bombay	798,406
6 Punjab	733,100
7 Central Provinces and Berar	501,834
8 Burma	248,001
9 Assam	163,925
Total British India	7,803,882
1 England and Wales	498,055
2 Ireland	72,770
3 Scotland	69,481
Total United Kingdom	641,206

(c) Ratio of Infantile mortality per 1,000 of population

British India



United Kingdom (1916)

	Infantile Mortality.
	Actual number of deaths [Infantile mortality].
1 United Provinces	465,467
2 Bengal	300,514
3 Bihar and Orissa.	251,739
4 Madras	251,194
5 Punjab	217,385
6 Central Provinces and Berar . .	151,956
7 Bombay	151,633
8 Burma	75,907
9 Assam	35,914
Total British India .	1,029,491
1 England and Wales . . .	*
2 Scotland	*
3 Ireland	*
Total United Kingdom .	*

* Actual numbers regarding infantile mortality in the United Kingdom are not available.

June 1919 was just over 85,000. This is considerably below the figure recorded in any corresponding period of the last 20 years, the average for which is well over half a million. But although the incidence of plague has markedly diminished through considerable tracts of India, it must be perfectly plain that a disease, which even in its lowest year of virulence is capable of causing nearly 90,000 deaths, cannot be lightly ignored. The fighting of plague only is sufficient to keep constantly employed a staff considerably greater than that which has to attend to the sanitary needs of India.

Criticisms.

The health organization of India is plainly in need of expansion and reform. Of the necessity of this expansion and reform, however, the criticisms which have been directed against the sanitary organisation on account of last year's terrible influenza death roll can hardly be considered a fair index; for even if India had vast health and medical organizations comparable in efficiency to those of the most progressive state in the world, in this particular instance it would have been impossible to effect anything appreciable in checking the ravages of the disease. Medical arrangements were inadequate in every severely affected country, few of the administrations of which escaped adverse criticism. But leaving aside the question of the influenza mortality of last year, it cannot be denied that unless public opinion can be educated to display increased interest in the sanitary work carried on by the administration, very little solid achievement will be possible in the near future.

Official Activity.

It is only fair to say that Government has for long been alive to the importance of this question, and during the year under review, it has redoubled its activities. A grant of £33,000 (five lacs of rupees) has been assigned to the purpose of improving public health ; and as a result of a conference of medical experts, it has been determined to establish a Central Public Health Board, consisting of official and non-official members, with a view to the co-ordination of preventive and curative medicine and of research, and the creation of similar boards in the provinces has been recommended. It is hoped that there will be set up a mobile corps of epidemiological workers, ordinarily at the disposal of Local Governments but liable to be concentrated at the orders of the Government of India in any area afflicted by a severe epidemic. The conference also laid stress on certain kindred measures, such as the increase of the curative medical staff, the multiplication of dispensaries, and the further development of research facilities.

Red Cross Work.

Another important step in this direction has been gained by the establishment, with the sanction of the Government of India, of an Indian Red Cross Society which will cater for the needs of both Military and Civil Hospitals throughout

India. This Indian Red Cross Society will have the same status in the International League of Red Cross Societies as has been granted to British Dominions. Prominent Provincial branches of the Indian Red Cross Society, will be established throughout India including Indian States, through the medium of which it will be possible to carry out work in India on the basis of that now being effected in England through the medium of the various County Branches.

Work among Women.

Equally important is the medical work among Indian women which is being accomplished by the National Association for the Provision of Female Medical Aid to the Women of India which is financed by the fund started by the Countess of Dufferin. It has been pointed out that one of the greatest obstacles to the improvement of sanitary conditions in India is the difficulty of enlisting the support of Indian women. In most cases, it is quite impossible to appeal to the female population of India except through female agency; and since upon Indian women depends the success or failure of every attempt to introduce hygienic principles into the Indian houses, there can be little doubt of the immense importance of educating the female population in the elementary principles of sanitation. Women's medical colleges now exist in the United Provinces, in the Punjab, in Bombay, in Madras, and in Bengal, to take only the portions of India where the work has been most promising. The Countess of Dufferin's Fund is helping towards the improvement of the conditions of child-birth, with the object of reducing the terrible infant mortality, to which reference has already been made. At the close of the year under review preparations were on foot for an exhibition in Maternity and Infant Welfare which is to be held in Delhi in February 1920. It is hoped to make this the beginning of a campaign which will awaken the public to the necessity of action and show those who wish to help in this most important field of activity how they may best do so.

Provincial Efforts.

Nor have the provincial Governments been backward in the attempt to bring home to the population of India the importance to the nation of improved sanitation. In Madras preparations are being made for a great Southern India Health and Welfare Association, which will have a large general committee drawn from all parts of the Presidency, and specialised sub-committees to co-ordinate different branches of the work such as child welfare, milk supply, epidemics, education in hygiene, and popular propaganda. In Bengal, the formation of an Advisory Board of Health, composed of experts and containing a strong Indian element, is in contemplation; and the investigation of the existing organization of the Public Health Department of the province, with a view to its early expansion is taking place. In Bihar and Orissa, a big publicity campaign is on

foot under the direction of the Sanitary Commissioner, with the idea of stimulating the interest of the educated classes in hygiene. In the Central Provinces, there is a proposal for a large development of a sanitary service for work in rural areas. In fact, in other provinces of India, there has been during the period under review definite evidence of Government's determination to enlist popular support in a sanitary campaign.

It would be unfair not to refer, however inadequately, to the work which is being performed by voluntary agency particularly by the various societies of service in India. The value of these societies is now being recognised by Governments in various places; in the United Provinces, for example, the Social Service League is assisted by a substantial grant from public funds. In Bombay the value of voluntary work in conjunction with that of the Bombay Health Department has led to the formulation of a scheme by which the city of Bombay is to be divided into units, each unit having its own organization of doctors, nurses, and voluntary workers.

Social Reforms.

From a consideration of aspects of material progress during the period under review, we proceed to outline briefly the leading features of the work accomplished in the sphere of social reform. During the whole of the year 1919 there has been a marked tendency towards the encouragement of social reform. The stimulus which has been afforded by the war to democratic ideals has not failed to exert its influence upon Indian conditions. That there is grave need for work in this direction, is a common-place which has been employed in certain quarters as an argument against India's claim to political concession. Caste questions and the problems of social reform are among the most pressing, and difficult of those with which the modified administration will have to deal; but it should be remembered that such questions can never be satisfactorily settled by an alien Government, however well intentioned and sympathetic. There can be no doubt that the problems, and they are many, of social reform in India must find their solution at the hands of Indian administrators and of them alone.

Some Problems.

As it may be of service to those unfamiliar with Indian conditions, we proceed to sketch briefly some of the more typical of these problems. It must of course be understood that no attempt at completeness is possible in the space at our disposal; but an illustration or two will serve to explain at once the magnitude of the task which awaits the Indian social reformer and the importance of its early accomplishment. In Southern India, as is well known, there exist immense numbers of so-

called untouchable classes, to whom, particularly on the Malabar side, are denied what might be called the elementary rights of human beings. They are condemned to live far beyond the outskirts of the villages; they are forbidden to use many of the public roads; their very approach within a certain number of yards is accounted contamination. As a result of this, these depressed classes live in hovels and seem to delight in dirt. From a casual appearance it would appear that the great majority of them have lost whatever innate love of cleanliness human beings may be expected to possess. They have no education, because they cannot afford to take advantage of it even if it is proferred free. They have no outlook in life; they are condemned to the most degrading forms of labour. But the root of the matter is less economic than social. Until these depressed classes can be put on a level with their fellowmen, can be treated as equals, and relieved from the moral degradation into which they have been thrown by centuries of scorn, it is difficult to do very much with them. Official orders can be passed in such directions as insisting that children of the depressed classes should be admitted into schools, that members of these classes should have a proper house and free access to the public water-supply; but in the absence of public opinion it is quite impossible for Government to enforce these orders which fly in the face of habits centuries old. In addition to the particular problems presented by the untouchable class, which are principally characteristic of Southern India, there is also the All-India problem of the general condition of the peasantry. Recent settlement operations in certain parts of Northern India have revealed that in some places, the average agricultural labourer is not infrequently compelled in time of stress to mortgage his personal liberty. In return for a small sum of money, which he may happen to need at the moment, he agrees to serve the man from whom he has borrowed. The money is not repaid, nor is it intended to be repaid; but the borrower remains the life-long bondslave of his creditor. For his work he merely receives an inadequate dole of food, and to all intents and purposes is in the position of a mediæval serf. This is another extreme case of the urgent necessity which now exists in India for social reform; but perhaps of even greater importance than the instances which have been quoted, is the outstanding fact that the average Indian of the lower class is remarkably poor and helpless—poor and helpless to a degree to which Europe can afford little parallel. There is thus an infinitely large field for work, both voluntary and official, in raising the condition of the lower class population; in educating them up to improved ideas of sanitation; and in freeing them from degrading social customs. But it would be a mistake to think that the social

The Depressed Classes: Social Serfdom.

Agricultural Abuses. Economic Serfdom.

problem of India is confined merely to the lower classes. Even among the middle and upper classes there are many features in the existing social life which have evoked the wrath of reformers. The difficulty of obtaining a decent standard of education among the female population of India is proverbial. Opinion favourable to women's education is steadily gaining ground; but there is a terrible amount of leeway to be made up before the women of India can achieve even the modest standard of literacy which characterises the male population. It has been said on good authority that the unfavourable opinion, which still lingers in many quarters against the education of women, is directed more against the nature of the education now supplied than against the mere fact of the education itself. Nor is it possible to deny that the old conservative objection has a grain of wisdom in it. There is a real fear lest girls when they are educated may become unfitted for home life; that they may become averse from tasks which constitute the glory and the pride of the orthodox Indian woman. But it is sincerely to be hoped that with the increasing attention now being devoted by educational and social workers to devising a scheme of female education which will fit girls for the vocation of wife and mother, the prejudice against the education of women will gradually disappear. Other pressing problems are those of the *purdah*, the raising of the age of marriage, and the inflexibility of the caste-system. There is now a growing body of social opinion against the first of these; but it cannot be denied that the *purdah* is still very firmly rooted, especially among the Muhammadan community. That it is gradually breaking down, no one who has seen the number of well-to-do Hindu and Moslem ladies who now content themselves with a long veil when they move about in public, can doubt. The increasing demand for ladies' seats at public gatherings is another indication of this tendency. The custom of early marriage is very firmly rooted in the Hindu community, and despite the protests of social reformers, it will be long before a substantial advance is possible. Of the caste system, too much has been written to make it possible to indicate the importance of the subject in the course of a few lines. Originally based upon a perfectly sound arrangement for the organization of a simple but progressive society, the caste system has now lost most of its good points and is considered by many reformers as merely the prolific source of a vast amount of mischief. It has lost its flexibility and become very little more than a cast-iron system of rules which hinder social progress and material uplift.

Female Education.

The Purdah.

Early Marriage.

Caste.

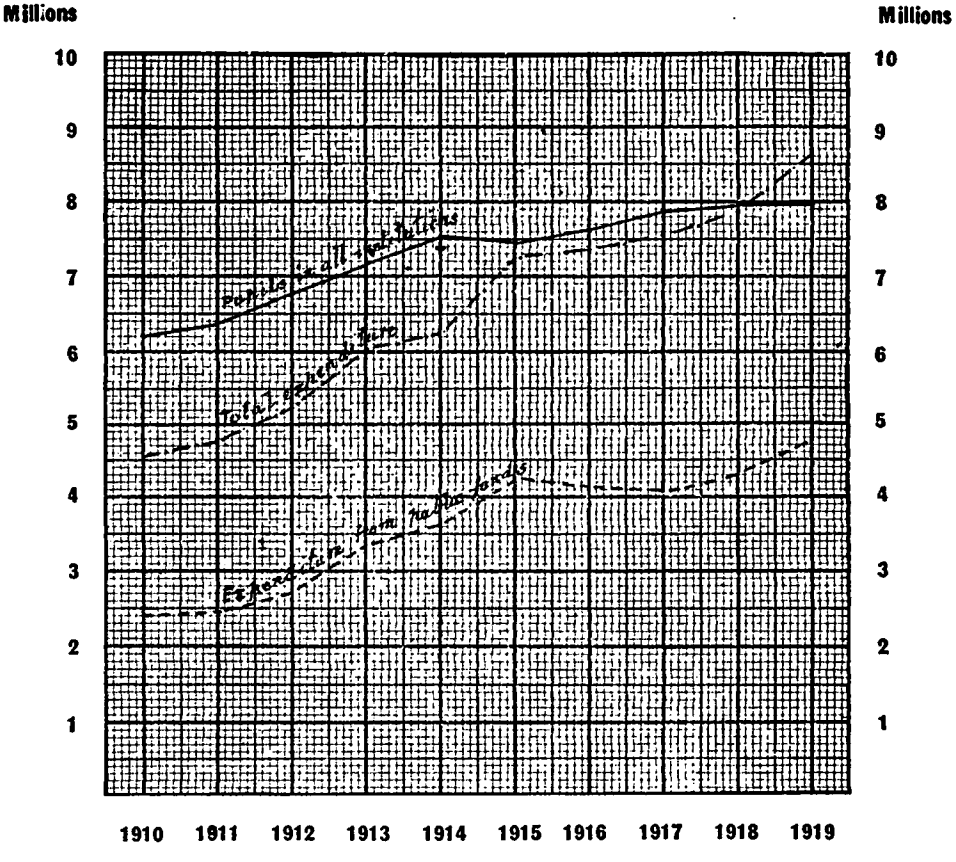
It is satisfactory to notice that the small section of reformers who see clearly the great importance of social reorganization is steadily becoming more in-

Progress in 1919.

fluential as the years go on. During the period under review, the number of social conferences held in various parts of India, and the publicity given in the Indian press to the utterances of prominent reformers, show that a definite attempt is being made to enlist public sympathy and support for this most vital movement. Perhaps more satisfactory still, at least from the Western point of view, is the increasing amount of solid, if unostentatious, work which is actually being performed. Such institutions as the Society of the Servants of India and the Seva Samiti are now well to the fore on all occasions of public distress. During the year 1919, they supplemented their normal philanthropic and educative work by the task of famine relief. Reform Leagues are growing up in various parts of India, the work of which will before very long make itself felt very deeply. In the case of one of these, the Bengal Social Service League, a report for the current year shows how manifold are the activities of its workers. These include flood relief work, distribution of clothes, medical relief, the imparting of sanitary education by leaflets and lectures, the opening of schools, and much work of a similar character. Increasing attention is also being devoted to the improvement of the general position of Indian women ; and various organizations now exist for enlarging the spheres of women's usefulness. Among these may be mentioned the Poona Seva Sadan which in the course of ten years of its existence has performed admirable work in training women and girls as nurses, midwives, sub-assistant surgeons, teachers, art and craft workers ; and has in addition a fine record of services rendered to the general community in normal as well as in abnormal times.

Some idea of the difficulties which beset the path of the social reformer is provided by the events of the current year. It has been already remarked that in many of the most important social questions, intimately connected as they are with religious or quasi-religious sentiment, a foreign administration finds itself unable to interfere. During the close of last year an Indian member of the Indian Legislative Council introduced a modest Bill which would render marriage between various castes permissible, without imposing upon the contracting parties the necessity of renouncing the Hindu religion. But the volume of opposition aroused in conservative quarters by this Bill has been simply amazing and there is some reason to conclude that it will be impossible to proceed with it. Even in such a matter as the notorious abuse which now too frequently exists in the administration of charitable and religious trusts, it is found that some quarters are prepared to obstruct reform in the name of religion. A Bill which was introduced in Council by Sir William Vincent, the Home Member, making it possible for the administration of trust funds to be examined, evoked a certain amount of opposition in conservative quarters. In this case, however, the support received from other quarters was so overwhelming in its volume that it was

EDUCATION DIAGRAM.



PROGRESS OF EDUCATION 1910—1919.

found possible to proceed with the Bill. This is an encouraging sign, and that progress is being made, there can be no question. A sensational pollution case in Calicut, where a Western-trained Indian doctor who happened to be of low caste, was prosecuted for polluting the village tank by walking too near it, ended in the acquittal of the accused, who was the recipient of congratulations from all quarters. Liberal minded persons, educated and uneducated alike, are now beginning in certain flagrant instances of this kind to realise the necessity of making some radical re-adjustment of the existing social arrangements, but they still find themselves opposed or thwarted by elements of society who love to cling to the old order.

For this, as for so many other problems of present day India, the readiest solution would seem to lie in a well designed and efficiently executed scheme of national education.

Education in 1919.

The year 1919 has proved notable in the history of education in India. Alike in the spheres of University, of secondary, and of primary education, far-reaching programmes of developments have been done up, and solid foundations for future advance have in many instances been laid. It is to be hoped that before long the educational position of British India will be widely different from what it is at present. But, as may be expected from the magnitude of the whole problem, the progress of the year has done comparatively little to modify the general statement which was made in last year's report. It will be desirable to summarise as briefly as possible what that position is.

Present Position of Education.

At present, in British India which has a population of some 240 million, there are under 8 million pupils in all the educational institutions put together. That is to say, just 3 per cent. of the population is under instruction ; this figure being made up of 5 per cent. of the males and one per cent. of the females of British India. The expenditure from all sources works out at approximately £8½ millions, or 8½*d.* per head of the population.

It is not necessary to emphasise the seriousness of the situation. In the light of the political developments which are to take place in the immediate future, it is plainly a matter for acute uneasiness. India is about to advance upon the road leading to the progressive realisation of responsible government, and electorates are to be brought suddenly into being. Indians of all classes will have to take a greater and greater share of public duties and public responsibilities ; will have to realise their position as citizens of the British Empire not merely in theory but in fact—yet in the last census (of 1911), only six individuals in every hundred could achieve the very modest census standard of literacy.

It must be plain that until the proportion of literates can be raised, the masses of India will remain poor, helpless, and a prey to political dangers too serious to be contemplated with equanimity. During the year under review this fact was poignantly brought home by the lamentable disturbances which took place in certain parts of India. The most serious feature of these disturbances lies in the fact that they proved the population of many parts of India to be incapable of forming a reasoned judgment upon certain political matters which came under their notice. With the gradual assumption by Indians of increasing direction of the administration, it must be obvious that the danger of such a state of affairs as now exists is very real. Nor indeed is it merely from the political point of view that the need for popular education in India is so crying. Until the general standard of literacy can be raised, it will be impossible for India to realise her immense industrial potentialities. She must therefore necessarily remain to a large degree in a condition of industrial tutelage until such time as her population is in a position to realise where its true economic interest lies. And this difficulty is rendered more acute by the necessity for its immediate solution; for upon the realisation by India of her industrial possibilities depends very largely her competence to sustain the sacrifices, pecuniary and otherwise, which progress along the road to self-government necessarily demands of every nation.

Dangers of the Present Position.

The seriousness of the present position of Indian education is merely brought home to the observer by an analysis of the proportions of the population undergoing different types of instruction. Only about 2·4 per cent. of the population is enrolled in primary schools and only 2·9 per cent. is undergoing elementary instruction of any kind. On the other hand, in secondary schools, no less than ·5 per cent. of the population is under instruction, a figure which compares very favourably with ·6 per cent. of England and Wales. Considering that in India female education is backward, this means that if the male population alone is reckoned, no less than ·9 per cent. is found in secondary schools. This portion is far greater than the corresponding figure of England and Wales, and approximately equal to that of Germany before the war. More striking yet are the figures for University education. India has ·026 per cent. of her population undergoing instruction of a University type. Considering that here again the female population of India has to be almost eliminated, this figure compares very favourably with ·054 of England and Wales. In the case of single tracts like Bengal, it is found that with a population approximately equal to that of the United Kingdom, the proportion of the educated classes who are taking full-time University courses, is almost ten times as great as in England. Further-

A more detailed Analysis.

more, a much higher proportion of the educated male population proceeds to University studies in Bengal than is the case in the United Kingdom.

Defects of the Educational System.

There are thus good grounds for the criticisms so often directed against the educational structure of India to the effect that it is top-heavy. While the lower classes are largely illiterate, the middle class, which is the class that mainly patronises higher institutions, is, numerically speaking, educated to a pitch equal to that attained in countries whose social and economic conditions are more highly developed. With the reason for this peculiar situation we dealt briefly in last year's report. It is here only necessary to say that the supply of education has tended to follow the direction of the most pressing demand.

Imperfect Distribution.

But even more striking than the unequal diffusion of education throughout the population of India, is the extremely narrow line of its development. It is of a predominantly literary type, 2·9 per cent. of the population being found in non-technical institutions, while only ·05 per cent. is undergoing instruction in professional colleges, special schools and other institutions which provide technical training. An analysis of the allocation of the total expenditure in India strikingly confirms a previous impression of the narrowness of the lines along which education is conducted. Of the total sum of roughly £8½ millions, no less than £2·9 millions are spent on higher institutions for boys, £2 millions are spent on primary schools for boys, and only a meagre £0·8 million on vocational institutions. Hitherto, literary courses have been most popular, because they lead to Government employment, and are a necessary preliminary to the study and practice of the law. On the other hand, technical and industrial study offers a less easy or a less lucrative career in the present condition of India. Fortunately there are not wanting indications that popular opinion is becoming increasingly alive to the necessity of encouraging technical education, and it is hoped that in the future there will be a rapid and much needed expansion in this direction.

Narrowness.

Other Principal Defects.

As was pointed out in last year's report, Indian education suffers from three principal defects. In the first place, there is a serious lack of properly trained teachers. Only 34 per cent. of the total teaching cadre have any training qualification. Of the teachers in primary schools, upon which the mass of the community depends for its instruction, only 75,000 out of 233,000 are trained. In the vital province of secondary education, out of 64,000 teachers only 26,000 have received any training. In the next place, since the teaching profession in India is seriously underpaid, there is no incentive for men of the sort most needed to enter it. Too often

a man takes up teaching because he can find nothing else to do, with the result that pupils are instructed by a changing series of teachers who have no time to learn their trade and put but little heart into their work. In the third place, Indian education is entirely dominated by an examination system. The passing of an examination is essential for employment, and large scale external examinations too often form the only goal aimed at by school and University instruction.

Financial Difficulties.

As is the case with every branch of the Administration of India, the difficulty of improving the educational system is primarily financial. It has already been stated that the total expenditure upon education is about 8½*d.* per head, with the natural result that even such education as now exists tends to be cheap and inferior in quality. Education has to be cheaply run, with the result that teachers are badly paid, their work is inefficient, and the curriculum tends to be out of touch with the vital needs of the pupils. This aspect of the case is so important that it is necessary to spend a few lines in indicating the present system of educational finance. As has been explained elsewhere, the revenues taken by the Government of India are employed partly in central expenditure and partly in redistribution to provinces for expenditure upon objects which provincial revenues cannot finance efficiently. Among those objects is education. This is financed partly from public funds and partly from private funds. Under the head of public funds fall those sums which are the produce of central or local taxation, while private funds include fees, endowments,

Educational Finance.

and subscriptions. Now of the total sum of roughly £8½ millions, £3·6 millions comes from provincial and Imperial funds, £1·1 million from local funds, including transfers from provincial funds, and £1·5 million from other sources, such as charitable endowments, and missionary enterprise. The balance of over £2 millions comes from fees. Taking these endowments one by one, the expenditure from provincial, including central funds, is found to be 3½*d.* per head of population. The corresponding figure in the case of England and Wales is 7*s.* 9*d.* The amount found by local bodies, such as municipalities and district boards, is very small, for of the £1·1 millions figuring under this head, more than one-half comes from provincial or Imperial grants handed over to local bodies for expenditure. But small as is this head, the expenditure of local bodies upon education throughout India is found to amount approximately to one quarter of their total expenditure upon all heads. The exact figure

Local Bodies.

varies indeed from province to province. In Bombay and the North-West Frontier Province, the local bodies spend over 40 per cent. of their funds on education. This figure decreases in the case of the United Provinces, the Punjab, the Central Provinces, and Assam, to about 30 per cent.; in Bihar and

Bengal it is about 20 per cent.; and in Madras 15 per cent. There is some reason to believe that the educational expenditure of municipalities and district boards could be increased, as researches seem to show that in several parts of India, local taxation is at present an insignificant burden upon the resources of the people. The next head, that of contributions from missionary bodies and from charitable endowments, is of rather greater importance than is indicated by its financial equivalent. Missionary bodies very often succeed in enlisting the services of devoted men whose ability is quite out of proportion to the remuneration which they are content to accept. Indeed, Indian education, as a whole, owes to missionary bodies a debt which it is very difficult to estimate with justice. The last item, that of fees, amounts to some 27 per cent. of the total expenditure. Its magnitude arises rather from the paucity of funds derived from other sources than from the rate of fees charged. Investigation shows that the annual fee payable by a student averages £4 10*s*. per head in a college; £1 in a secondary school; and 14*d*. in a primary school.

Missionary Bodies.

Fees.

It will be obvious from this examination of the financial position of Indian education that the first step towards making immediate improvement is the allocation of larger funds. For a long time indeed, the demand for such allocation has figured prominently in the Indian press; but those who make it, having been afforded no opportunity of experiencing the practical difficulties of finding the money, are not yet aware of the obstacles in the way. Out of her revenue of £121 millions India already spends on education £8·6 millions, which is between 7 and 8 per cent. of her entire public resources. Her revenue has to support many other heavy calls upon it. It must be remembered that India has a long land frontier to defend; that her immense and widely varying population necessitates a large expenditure upon the maintenance of law and order. Important as is education to the life of a people, unless it is erected upon the solid foundations of the safety of the State and the security of the individual, alike from external aggression and from internal disorder, it is likely to share the fate of all structures built upon the sand. An interesting exemplification of the truth of this view is to be found in the fact that in certain Indian States, which are under no obligation to bear heavy defence charges, it has been found possible, without unduly taxing the State revenue, to educate a percentage of the total population many times greater than the corresponding percentage in British India. This is particularly characteristic of those States which enjoy a comparatively large revenue with a population of moderate size. In Mysore the proportion of pupils under instruction to the total population is some 40 per cent.; and in Cochin, the percentage of boy and girl

Expansion Necessary.

pupils to the male and female population of school-going age is 77 per cent. and 36 per cent. respectively.

There can be no denying that the problem of finding the money for the requisite expansion of education in India is an extremely difficult one. Indeed there is some reason for believing that in the case of an alien administration which for political reasons is bound to keep taxations light, the difficulty might prove to be insoluble. But fortunately in the reformed scheme of Government which is now being initiated, education is a transferred subject. It is to be hoped that the Indian administrators who will henceforth be in charge, will be able to discover sources of income which have not hitherto been exploited. As has already been indicated, the matter is of great urgency; for if the money be not found and Indian education does not expand in proportion to the developing needs of the country, India's assumption of the position due to her in the British Commonwealth of Nations may be greatly delayed.

The foundations of the future structure of Indian education have been solidly laid, and the pressing necessity at present is that they should be expanded. A study of the diagram on page 129 reveals that progress, if it has been slow, has at least been sure. During the period under review the existing administration has done its utmost to devise a programme of expansion which may in the future be capable of infinite good.

Educational History of 1919.

Beyond question the greatest landmark in the educational history of the year under review has been the publication of the report of the Calcutta University Commission. As was noted in last year's report, this Commission was appointed in 1917 under the presidency of Dr. (now Sir Michael) Sadler; it consisted of seven members of whom four came direct from England and two members were Indians. It met in October 1917, and after receiving replies to its *questionnaire* from more than 400 witnesses in Bengal and other provinces, it completed its labours in March 1919. Its reference empowered it to investigate the relations between University and secondary education, as well as the bearing of University studies upon professional and technological training. Its report, which was made available to the public in August 1919 is, beyond question, the most detailed and the most authoritative survey of secondary and higher education in India which has ever been made. The report begins by pointing out that no satisfactory organisation of the University system of Bengal, such as is urgently necessary in the immediate future, will be possible until a radical reform of secondary education, the basis upon which University work rests, can be effected. The defects of the existing system of secondary education have frequently

The Calcutta University Commission.

Secondary Education.

been pointed out in great detail. With certain qualifications it is true to say that this branch of educational work in India is of poor standard and badly regulated. Since the demand for it is almost inexhaustible, the difficulty of meeting this demand in an adequate manner tends to swamp all effects of reform. Owing to the excessive demand for education, however bad that education may be, proprietors of schools are able to manage their institutions at the lowest limit of efficiency without fear of loss of boys; and since the most necessary ingredients of education, as generally understood, namely, discipline, social life, good physical condition, and a reasonable standard of class work, are not demanded, they are not supplied. The school too often depends upon the good will of parents and pupils, and where the public is weak and uninformed, the parents are only too ready to listen to any complaints of their children against strictness and discipline. The school boy thus often becomes the master of his teachers. Political agitation, despite the efforts of the authorities, often occupies the minds of boys to a most undesirable extent; and during the last three years it has been found necessary in several provinces to issue orders prohibiting school boys from attending political meetings. For while there is every reason why a school boy should take a reasonable interest in politics, there are good grounds to fear that in many cases the interest has assumed unhealthy characteristics, which tend to hinder true education.

The Commission's Analysis.

The Calcutta University Commission has been able to explain these defects as being the result of four fundamental factors. In the first place, the low standard of equipment in high schools and the deficiencies of their staff make the acquisition of sound education very difficult. In the second place, the concentration upon external examinations, to which reference has already been made, tends to make the instruction assume a very narrow form; and since the Matriculation examination, the goal of the majority of school boys, is of itself neither well designed nor of a high standard, no encouragement is given to many lines of study necessary primarily for the welfare of pupils and secondarily for the prosperity of the country. Thirdly, the Commission points out that there is no adequate machinery for supervising, guiding, and assisting the work of the schools—a fact which resolves itself really into the conclusion that no coherent system of secondary education is yet in existence. In the fourth place, a large and vitally important part of secondary education properly so-called is conducted not in schools at all, but in the colleges of the University. The so-called "intermediate" work is really school work conducted by college methods; and because it is so conducted, it largely fails of its purpose. Not only is the mass-lecture, the favourite educational machine, unsuitable for work at this

stage, but in addition, many subjects and lines of study, especially those which have a vocational bearing, find no place at all.

On the whole, the criticisms directed by the Calcutta University Commission against the existing system of secondary education in India in general, and in Bengal in particular, resolve themselves into this: that secondary education as at present understood, does not equip those who undergo it for citizenship. It is so incomplete, so defective, and of so low a standard, that those who desire to obtain an education worthy of the name find themselves obliged to enter the Universities; even though their aptitudes and choice of future vocation do not fit them in the least for University studies properly so-called. Pressed further home, indeed, the charge amounts to even more than this. As the Commissioners write, "It implies that the schools have no spiritual life which touches the boy's inner nature, no corporate unit which appeals to and can sustain his affectionate loyalty, no moral or intellectual flame which may kindle his emotions." Taking these circumstances into consideration, the Calcutta University Commission recommend, that the radical reform of secondary education is a preliminary requisite, not only to University reform but also to genuine national progress. The principal changes advocated for this purpose may be summarised as follows: In the first place, work in the intermediate stage must be removed from the province of the University, and the stage of admission to the University must correspond rather with that of the present intermediate than with that of the present Matriculation examination. In order that this change may be carried out, it will be necessary to transfer the training of the intermediate type from the University to other institutions of a pre-University standard. With this end in view, the Commission recommend the creation of new institutions to be known as "intermediate colleges," some of which are to be attached to selected high schools while others should be organised as distinct institutions. So far as it relates to Bengal, with which the Commission's recommendation was primarily concerned, it is proposed that there should be at least one intermediate college in each district of the Presidency, besides a certain number in Calcutta and Dacca. The courses of these intermediate colleges are to be framed in such a manner as to afford preparation not only for the usual degree courses of the University in arts and science, but also for the medical, the engineering, and the teaching professions, as well as for careers in agriculture, commerce and industry. In other words, the institution of the intermediate college is designed to make it possible for a boy, who has no particular academic aptitudes, to acquire such a sound system of education as may equip him for citizenship, without his being compelled to enter the portals of the University at all.

Recommendations.

The establishment of this new system will naturally entail a remodelling of the existing departments of public instruction which are not so organised as to be able to regulate and supervise it successfully. The Commission recommends the establishment of a Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education, representative not only of official, educational and sectarian interests, but also of industry, agriculture, medicine, and the like. The powers of the Board thus constituted should include the control of the courses in high schools and intermediate colleges ; the advising of Government as to the needs of secondary and intermediate education ; and the exercise of substantial executive powers in the distribution of grants to schools and colleges within the limits of the allotments made by Government in its annual budget.

Changes Required.

The Commission has naturally devoted much attention to the crying necessity for the improvement of training of teachers. We have already referred on a previous page to the unsatisfactory nature of the present position. The Commission recognises that there is urgent need for many thousands of well-trained teachers, equipped with sound knowledge of what they teach, and possessed of a clear comprehension of the aims and methods of a good school. In view of the great need of enlisting the services of Western trained teachers for the organisation of secondary and intermediate work, it is recommended that a special corps of such teachers should be recruited, on such terms and conditions as may be necessary to secure the right type of man. This is in harmony with the general conception of the Commission, towards which expert opinion has for some time been moving in India, as to the future of the educational services of the country. It is recommended that in order to lend unity and harmony to the educational system, the main body of the teaching staff of Government schools and intermediate colleges should gradually be reorganised upon a professional rather than upon a service basis, it being of course provided that safeguards be formulated not only to protect the actual or prospective rights of members of the existing service, but, which is of greater potential importance to the country, to ensure an adequate salary-scale together with reasonable security of tenure.

Training of Teachers.

Passing to University education, we find that the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission are equally radical. A centralised teaching University has been put forward as the University for India. Hitherto, as will have been gathered from last year's report, the system in vogue in India has been that of the affiliating University. In India, a University has hitherto consisted of scattered colleges, each separated from the

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next by hundreds of miles, each attempting, with its inadequate resources of staff and equipment, to perform the function of a miniature University. The resultant reduplication under existing conditions of financial shortage has necessarily meant poor quality all round. Apart from the colleges of which it is made up, the typical Indian University has hitherto enjoyed merely a phantom existence. The University standard has been something external to the colleges, something which naturally tends to lower itself to the capacity of the weakest institution. Hitherto any attempt to raise the general standard, the only possibility of accomplishing which has consisted in making the examinations conducted by the University more difficult, has met with hostility in the press. The fear is constantly expressed that any attempt to hinder the wholesale manufacture of inefficient graduates must necessarily be prompted by a desire to stunt alike educational development and political progress.

The Present System.

But the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission, if carried into practice, will alter all this. It is proposed that the University should be a unitary teaching body, wherein all formal instruction will be given in the name of the University by officers of the University under the direct control of the University authorities. In its purest form, this system admits of the interposition of no collegiate organisation between the University authorities and the students. The University of the future should, in addition to satisfying these conditions, be a residential University, the residences being arranged in large units known as "halls," or in smaller units known as "hostels." The teaching work is to be organised in departments, each under the responsible charge of a principal teacher, who will supervise the general organisation of work in his subject throughout the whole University. So far as machinery is concerned, the departure from existing practice is to be found principally in the institution of a full time salaried vice-chancellor, and in the re-organisation of the present executive and deliberative bodies which control Indian Universities. In place of the existing Senates which at present decide not merely academic questions, but also general questions of University policy, there are to be two bodies; first a widely representative University court which would represent interests wider than those of the teaching faculty; and secondly, an academic council, which, being staffed by University and college teachers, would be the supreme body in academic matters and the final authority for most of the ordinary academic business. There should also be a small executive council, entrusted with financial and administrative duties, and with considerable powers. It would not be concerned with details of purely academic business, but would discuss matters of

The Commission's Proposals.

detail, particularly financial matters, with a committee of representatives elected from the University court.

Application of these ideas to Calcutta.

Such in barest outline are the ideas of the Calcutta University Commission in regard to the future Indian University; and these ideas have found expression in their purest form in the scheme which has been put forward by the Commission for the new University of Dacca. But in regard to Calcutta, its main object of reference, the Commission decided that it would be impossible to effect University reforms on the comparatively simple plan here laid down. For, in the first place, the University of Calcutta, with its 26,000 students, is the largest in the world; and the numbers to be dealt with are too great to allow the elimination of bodies intermediate between the individual student and the University. Moreover, many of the colleges affiliated to the existing Calcutta University have not only been doing valuable work during a long period, but are now in effect too powerful to be disregarded. Accordingly, with the ideals of the unitary teaching residential University in its mind, the Commission decided to devise what it called a "synthesis" between the University in its teaching aspect and those colleges which are sufficiently well equipped to be capable of taking part in a system of co-operative teaching. Accordingly, in the constitution sketched out for the teaching University of Calcutta, provision is made for colleges which are to be of two types. The colleges to be called incorporated are to be institutions owned and managed by the University itself, while the colleges to be termed constituent will be distinct corporations, enjoying full membership of the University, fulfilling defined conditions, performing defined functions, and enjoying defined privileges. The conditions of admission to the rank and privileges of a constituent college are to be laid down by Statute, which should define among other things the number of students to be admitted, the proportion of teachers to students, the minimum rates of pay and conditions of service of teachers, the conditions to be observed regarding residence, minimum accommodation and equipment, and the like. Colleges, unable to fulfil the conditions laid down for admission to constituent rank, are to be granted on defined conditions the privileges of temporary affiliation for a period of five years in order to give them an opportunity of satisfying such conditions. So far as the scattered colleges in the country districts are concerned, the Commission recommends that they should for the present remain in association with the University under the direction of a special Board. It is believed that the best solution of the problem of these scattered colleges will ultimately be found in a judicious concentration of resources in a few of them. It is contemplated that some will gradually develop into wholly organised or semi-independent institutions which may ultimately take

their place as distinct Universities and others may become identical with the new colleges of intermediate grade, to which reference has been made on a preceding page.

In addition to formulating these radical proposals for the improvement of education of the secondary and University type, the Calcutta University Commission has taken into consideration some of the most pressing problems of Indian education at large. Its recommendations in regard to the future of the educational service have been already noticed. Of equal interest are the recommendations in the matter of technology and science. It is pointed out that a necessary function of the future University will be the furnishing of courses in the higher study of technological and applied sciences—a function not to be confused with that of training men in the essentials of scientific industry.

Female Education.

Among other recommendations, which have excited considerable interest, are those regarding the education of women. The Commissioners were struck both by the social difficulties with which the problem is surrounded and by the very slight progress which has hitherto been made. It is proposed to constitute a special Board of Women's Education in connection with the new Universities, together with a standing committee of the proposed Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education, which shall deal with the education of women.

Reception of the Report.

As may well be imagined, the publication of a report of such importance, formulated as it was by a body of leading educationalists, excited the very greatest interest in India during the period under review. Despite the inevitable distraction of public opinion by such burning questions as the Punjab disturbances and the approaching reforms, the general interest aroused by the Calcutta University Commission report was very great. The reception which it received was eminently favourable. Indeed, quite apart from the value of the conclusions which they formulated, the members of the Calcutta University Commission in the course of their eighteen months work in India have performed a task of the very highest public importance. They have interviewed leading men of all communities; have discussed with them the tendencies of education in the West; have in short aroused the leaders of educated India to a realisation of the problems in front of them, and to an appreciation of the methods by which these problems may be solved. During the course of their investigations, they have been successful in creating an atmosphere which seems to render the translation of their conclusions into practice perfectly possible.

Official Action.

The Government of India, which had been responsible for initiating the project of the Commission, was under no delusion as to the importance of the results

achieved. In the September session of the Indian Legislative Council, a bill was introduced for the creation of a centralised unitary University at Dacca, on the lines which the Commission had laid down. Owing to the magnitude of the project, as well as to the necessity of educating public opinion up to a divergence so radical from the University system to which it had been accustomed, ample time was given for the discussion of the measure; it being in effect decided to defer its final passage until the meeting of Legislative Council which was to be held in February 1920. Since the introduction of the Dacca bill, the Government of India have issued a comprehensive resolution directing attention to the salient features of the Commission's report, pressing upon local Governments and administrations those conclusions which have an applicability to provinces other than Bengal, and intimating their intention to proceed with legislation for the reform of the Calcutta University at the earliest possible moment.

Primary Education.

But important as are the spheres of University and secondary education upon the extension and amelioration of which the Sadler report throws so much light, India's most pressing need at the moment is the rapid expansion of a sound system of primary education, which is the only kind of instruction which her masses will for many years be able to afford. During the last five years the total number of primary schools in India has risen from 131,000 to 150,000, and the pupils have increased from 5·5 million to 5·9 million. The position of primary education varies widely in different parts of India. Burma leads the way with nearly 7 per cent. of her male population in the primary schools. Then come Madras, Bombay, Bengal and Assam with between 5 and 6 per cent. The Central Provinces and Bihar have just over and just under 4 per cent. respectively; while towards the end of the list come the North-West Frontier Province and the Punjab with 3 per cent. and the United Provinces with 2·9 per cent. The total expenditure on primary schools has risen in 5 years from £1·7 millions to £2·3 millions; but investigation shows that expenditure on primary schools per head of population varies widely from province to province. Bombay is well ahead, with an expenditure of over 1*s*: Madras is a bad second with 5*d*: the Central Provinces spend 4*d*: Assam 3*d*: and in all other Provinces, with the exception of the North-West Frontier Province, which spends less, the figure is about 2*d*.

Both the Government of India and the provincial Governments have been much occupied during the year under review with projects of primary education. The advance along the lines previously laid down, though not startling in extent, has at least been steady. The economic conditions of the country have not favoured a rapid increase of pupils; indeed from the reports of most provincial educational departments, it is to be gathered that the number of pupils has remained

stationary. Considering the economic difficulties of the period, and the incidence of disease and famine, it is satisfactory to notice that there has been on the whole no marked retrogression. But the work which has been accomplished during the year under review is important less for its immediate results than for its prospects in the future.

United Provinces.

The project of gradually extending the system of compulsory education has made considerable progress. In the United Provinces, for example, a bill has been passed permitting municipalities to introduce free and compulsory education, primary and elementary. Reference was made in last year's report to the liberal programme of advance laid down for the United Provinces. The object aimed at was the doubling of the number of scholars attending primary schools, and if necessary the doubling of the number of schools themselves. In order to improve the quality of teaching, substantial advances were sanctioned on the existing rates of pay for teachers in primary schools. Wherever the demand for primary education arises, there it is to be met; and there are to be no inelastic rules of distance governing the location of new schools. District boards, in whose hands the execution of the programme mainly rests, are given full discretion in regard to exemption from fees, with the object of ensuring that no child shall be prevented by poverty from completing the full primary course. The local Government has taken full responsibility for finding the money required for this programme, which will, it is estimated, raise the annual recurring cost of education spent annually to half a million pounds within the next three years.

The Punjab.

In the Punjab also, a new primary Education Act embodies the principle of compulsory education by local option. The condition of the Act is that when a local body has agreed by a $\frac{2}{3}$rds majority, compulsory education can be introduced in any part of the area under its control. When education is made compulsory, some provision is necessary for the remission of fees of pupils who but for the Act would not have joined schools. The problem has been solved by providing that a local body in introducing compulsion, shall charge no fees in any schools maintained by itself, and, if required, shall pay to the managers the whole or part of any fees of those boys who prefer to attend recognised private schools. A vigorous forward policy has been adopted in the whole sphere of Vernacular education. Five-year programmes have been completed by each district board on the basis of its own financial capacity, it being the declared aim of every Government to establish district board schools at every centre where a village attendance of not less than 50 children may be expected. Government has pledged itself to meet a fixed proportion of the cost of each approved scheme, and the total recurring

charges to provide improved pay and prospects for teachers, will, on the completion of the present five-year programme, exceed £80,000. The aggregate capital expenditure on equipment and buildings is estimated at over £300,000. The fact that hitherto the Punjab and the United Provinces have been comparatively backward in the sphere of primary education renders this latest advance all the more encouraging.

Bombay.

In Bombay, a relatively forward province, which spends 50 per cent of its total educational expenditure upon this branch, it is proposed to open up primary schools in every village of over 1,000 inhabitants, and subsequently in every village containing more than 500 inhabitants. The pay of Vernacular school teachers has been substantially increased, and Government intend ultimately to establish a training school in every district of the Bombay Presidency and of Sind, with the object of replacing every untrained teacher by a man who has undergone at least one year's instruction at such a school. The Bombay Government has further provided a notable encouragement to municipal effort in the direction of instituting compulsory education by promising to contribute one half of the cost. Several municipalities have already applied for permission to introduce compulsion, and it is to be hoped that their example will be widely followed.

Bihar.

In Bihar and Orissa steps of a similar nature have been taken. A new Primary Education Act now authorises Municipalities and Unions, subject to certain conditions, to make primary education compulsory for all boys ordinarily residing within the area of their jurisdiction. Here, as elsewhere, the development of primary education rests largely in the hands of local bodies, and it will be for them to see not only that adequate facilities are provided, but that the money available is spent to the best advantage.

Bengal.

A compulsory Education Act has also been passed for the Central Provinces; but in the case of Bengal, in view of the fact that education is shortly to be a transferred subject, it has been decided not to proceed immediately in the same direction. Towards the end of the period under review, however, important work was done in the formulation of a revised curriculum for primary education. It has been published for public criticism and comment. On the whole, there is no doubt that the year under review has witnessed substantial progress in laying down a programme for the extension of primary education among the masses of the population of India. If this progress continues upon the lines now laid down, we may confidently look, before many years are passed, to a substantial modification of the present unsatisfactory position.

Female Education.

A similar activity may be noticed in regard to the extremely difficult topic of female education. Here the chief obstacles to a rapid expansion are, first, the difficulty of providing an adequate supply of competent women teachers; secondly, the difficulty of devising a course which shall commend itself to conservative opinion, already disposed to regard female education with a suspicious eye; and thirdly, the general character of the existing structure of education, dominated as it is by the examination system, which is plainly unsuited to the needs of Indian women. Social reasons, such as the institution of Purdah, early marriage, and so forth, constitute a considerable stumbling block. But as was pointed out in last year's report, the main hindrance to the rapid spread of female education is the lack of effective demand. There has indeed been a distinct improvement during the last five years, both in the increase of the number of women under training and in the provision of excellent women's colleges. The importance of overcoming the existing female illiteracy in India is obvious, for it constitutes a serious bar to educational progress among the population as a whole. If half the population grows up practically illiterate, incentive to education in the other half must be sensibly lowered; and when home education is almost unknown, education in general appears as something extraneous to the real life of the people. The seriousness of this question has long attracted the attention of the Administration; and towards the end of the period under review the Government of India issued a notable resolution, in which it outlined the main difficulties to be overcome and indicated the lines along which future expansion might proceed. The two principles which underlie the proposals of the Calcutta University Commission in regard to female education, namely, the modification of the curriculum to suit the needs of girls and women of different classes; and secondly, the utilisation of the advice of ladies in formulating a suitable system of instruction,—are entirely accepted by Government. It has been pointed out in the resolution referred to that the education of girls is a matter upon which local bodies can exert considerable influence. In provinces where compulsory education by local option exists, the provision for compulsion can be extended to girls also. The importance of educating the female community is not yet fully realised by the bulk of public opinion in India; indeed it would not be too much to say that the demand for such education is confined to a few advanced thinkers. But now that Indians will have the opportunity, under the reforms scheme, of tackling the problems of educating their country-men and country-women themselves, it is hoped that means will be found to break down the apathy which has hitherto operated to hamper the expansion of female education and to arouse an informed public opinion upon this most important subject.

Muhammadan Education.

In last year's report we noticed that Muhammadan education presented special problems of its own. Educationally speaking, the community is backward as compared with the Hindus, although as a result of the increased efforts of the last five years, the percentage of Muslim pupils to pupils of other communities, bears almost the same proportion as do the Mussalmans themselves to the entire population. The interest which has been taken by the community themselves in the promotion of their own education, commented upon in last year's report, was increasingly manifest during the year under review. Educational conferences were held in various places with the object of directing the attention of the Muslim community to their own educational deficiencies; and in some of these conferences very plain speaking was heard. It is satisfactory to note that the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College of Aligarh, the difficulties of which were noticed last year, is now rapidly recovering its position as an educational institution of the first rank. It is hoped before long to initiate a project of turning it into a Muhammadan University. So far as secondary and primary education are concerned, special grants have been earmarked in several provinces, notably the United Provinces, Bengal and Bombay, for the promotion of education among the Mussalmans; special inspecting agencies and training institutions have likewise been established. There is a good deal of leeway to be made up, particularly as far as higher education is concerned, for the number of Muhammadans in Arts colleges, provincial colleges, and in higher grade schools is still disproportionately small.

Indian States.

In various Indian States, educational progress during the year under review has been steady. The Osmania University of Hyderabad, the foundation of which was noticed in last year's report, is progressing, if but slowly. This has largely to be explained by the fact that since the educational medium of this University is to be Urdu, it has been found necessary to undertake an elaborate series of translations before University work can be seriously started. Mysore has a flourishing University already; and Universities are now projected for Baroda and Travancore. Several Indian States spend a considerable proportion of their income upon education, Baroda leading with a proportion of nearly 11 per cent. of the State's gross revenue. A compulsory Education Act has been established in Baroda; but during the year under review the two-fold calamity of famine and pestilence necessitated its suspension. Generally speaking, it may be stated that the more progressive Indian States are fully alive to the importance of education, and that they will before long be in a position to contribute effectively towards the education of the population as a whole.

Europeans.

Satisfactory progress has also been made in the education of Europeans and of the domiciled community. During the year under review, the prospects of the latter community under the reforms scheme have been a matter of anxious consideration; and redoubled efforts are being made by the community itself to acquire for its members an education which will fit them to hold their place in India of the future. As before, the education of the domiciled community continues to be characterised by a large amount of self-help, and more than 60 per cent. of the cost of the pupils' education is met from private resources.

Depressed Classes.

Among the aboriginals, the criminal tribes, and the depressed classes, the Missionary Societies and the Salvation Army have continued their noble work. As is mentioned elsewhere, several provincial Governments are now devoting much labour and money to the task of dealing with the second of these categories, and during the year under review, notable progress has been made in the education of children of the criminal tribes both in the Punjab and in Bombay. But of the total number, 4 millions in all, there are still only approximately one-half per cent. of the population under instruction. Of the aboriginal population, which is reckoned at just under 10 millions, between 1 and 2 per cent. is at school. But in the case of the depressed classes, which altogether number only 32 millions, the number under instruction is still only about 1 per cent. From these approximate figures some idea may be gained as to the amount of work which still has to be done in this direction; but the results already achieved, small as they are numerically measured, are nonethe-less solid and full of promise for the future.

Technical Education.

Turning now to the all-important topic of technical education, it is encouraging to notice that during the year under review, the popular demand for scientific, industrial, commercial, and agricultural training has been considerably strengthened. We have already noticed that the war has placed the industries of India in a position of peculiar prosperity; and the trade boom of the last 12 months, despite its accompaniment of high prices and scarcity, has still further stimulated the pressure which is being brought upon Government to provide technical training for the youth of India. Government has readily responded to the best of its ability; and during the year 1918-19 a special grant of £60,000 was earmarked for industrial and technical education, out of a recurring grant of £200,000 for agricultural and technical education. The latter grant was supplemented by another £12,000 from the wheat profits. There has thus been considerable expenditure upon this very important branch of education during the period under review. With the growth of industry in different parts of the country, the difficulty of placing in

suitable positions boys who have passed through technical institutions will gradually disappear. Up to the present time, this has been the most crippling disadvantage under which scientific and technical education has laboured in competition with literary education. But Government and public opinion are alike agreed upon the vital importance of spreading throughout the country institutions in which technical training is available. The report of the Calcutta University Commission, as has already been noticed, laid great stress upon provision by the Universities of technical institutions affording training of a University standard. With the change in the control of education which will result from the operations of the reforms scheme, the matter will rest very largely in Indian hands; and it is sincerely to be hoped that the enthusiasm with which projects of technical education are now everywhere hailed in the press will translate itself into practical and beneficial development. But, as must be obvious from the fact that more than 70 per cent. of the population of India live by agricultural pursuits, the particular kind of technical education, which is above all necessary for the speedy development of the resources of the country, is agricultural education. We have noticed in another place the work which is being done in the higher grades by the Agricultural Research Institute at Pusa. In addition to this, there are Agricultural Colleges in Bombay, Madras, the United Provinces, the Punjab, the Central Provinces, and Bihar and Orissa. Plans and estimates have been prepared for the erection of an agricultural college and a research institute in Burma; and Bengal also is considering the question of having its own agricultural college. Higher agricultural education has also received consideration at the hands of the Calcutta University Commission; and it is gratifying to note that the Report has advocated the introduction of agricultural courses in the University. In addition to providing higher training in the technical pursuit of agriculture, efforts have for some time been made with increasing energy to stimulate agricultural education of a less advanced type. During the year under review, for example, two agricultural middle schools have been opened in the Central Provinces. As a result of the propaganda work of the Agricultural Department, a keen demand has grown up among the cultivators for new manures, improved implements, and scientific methods. In consequence of this, they are now beginning to demand for their sons an education which will give them power to understand and to apply effectively the results of the experimental research work which is being carried out by the agricultural experts of the Department. Already, the agricultural graduate is increasing in market value. In Bombay, for example, the difficulty which was formerly experienced in obtaining employment for those with some practical knowledge of scientific agriculture has now

Agricultural Education.

disappeared. In the Punjab, as was noticed last year, increased stress has been laid on the provision of agricultural training in rural schools, and arrangements have been introduced for putting teachers through a practical course of agriculture at the Lyallpur college. In Bengal also arrangements for the establishment of two agricultural middle schools have been perfected; and in the United Provinces, a large school is shortly to be opened at Bulandshahar.

CHAPTER V.

Government and the People.

Mention was made in last year's report of some of the difficulties which confronted those responsible for maintaining the internal tranquillity of India. During the year under review, these difficulties were largely augmented owing to the economic stress through which the bulk of the population were compelled to pass.

The Problem of Peace and Order.

The immensity of the problem involved in preserving peace among the population of India is not always realized. In British India alone there are some 240 million people of widely varying culture stages. These people include races more diverse from one another than any to be found included in the boundaries of a continent like Europe. Many of these people have been for centuries habituated to a life of disorder, and despite the years of British rule, are still ready on the slightest provocation to return to their habits of preying upon their more peaceful neighbours. At the other end of the scale, there exists a highly educated town population, accustomed to all the amenities of twentieth century existence, and intensely resentful of anything approaching high-handedness on the part of the police force. Between these two extremes, the variety is infinite; and it says much for the general efficiency of the police of India that they discharge their multifarious duties with such a general standard of success. In the whole of British India, the total strength of the civil police is just under 1,000 officers of the rank of Deputy Superintendent or higher, and just over 200,000 officers and men of lower rank.

During the year under review, there has been a satisfactory indication that the police are gradually advancing in the esteem of the educated community. There has been less attack upon the force in the newspapers; there have been fewer complaints of individual highhandedness. But, as was pointed out last year, the police are still not trusted by the vocal section of Indian public opinion. The constable is still regarded rather as the potential oppressor of the peaceful citizen, than as his friend and helper. To some extent, it would seem that there is justification, at least in part, for this attitude, which is really a heritage from the bad old days when executive authority was synonymous with corrupt and arbitrary power. There is still room for improvement in the present police system of India, for like every other service it is

cheaply run on account of the poverty of the country. The total cost of the civil police in the year 1917 was approximately £4·5 million, working out at an average of about 4*d.* per head of the population.

Defects of the Police System.

Many of the defects of which the police can still fairly be accused arise from the fact that in the subordinate ranks, the pay is not sufficient to attract men of the right stamp to perform the difficult and responsible task of safeguarding public peace. The administration of India is fully alive to this fact and, during the year under review, steps have been taken to remedy it. It has long been realized that it is false economy to starve the police service; but until public opinion had been more or less educated up to taking the same view, it has been difficult to remedy matters. Schemes for improving the pay and prospects of the rank and file, for providing them with suitable accommodation and for maintaining a more adequate reserve, are under consideration or in actual operation almost everywhere. The shortage of men to fill vacancies is already less serious than was the case last year; although it is complained in several provinces that the inadequacy of the ordinary reserve results in leave difficulties which discourage men from joining the service. But taking it all round, the police reports from the provinces are much more optimistic than was the case with those reviewed last year. Vacancies, though still serious, have shown signs of filling up; almost everywhere, discipline is steadily improving and departmental punishments are on the decline. The expenditure sanctioned for schemes of improvement in 1918-19 amounting to more than £200,000 is already beginning to produce beneficial results. The expenditure of this small sum has not only improved the condition of the rank and file, but has also allowed some £80,000 to be allotted to raising the pay of the Imperial Police Service. The revised rates proposed by the Government of India were sanctioned by the Secretary of State and came into operation towards the end of the period under review.

Improvements.

Strain on Indian Police in 1919.

Throughout the whole of the year 1919 the police system of India has been exposed to a severe strain. Mention has been made in another place of the lamentable disorders which occurred in the Punjab, in Bengal, and in Bombay as a sequel to the *Satyagraha* movement. As may well be imagined, the first shock of these disturbances was borne by the police; and it must be ascribed largely to their efficiency that matters did not assume a more serious proportion in the early stages. But quite apart from these exceptional instances, war anxieties have unsettled the minds of large masses of the population. The effect of high prices has been to increase substantially crime of a certain type particularly robbery whether with or without violence. It is a general

axiom of police administration in India that crime tends to rise in direct proportion to the severities of economic stress; and during the period under review, no exception to this rule can be noticed. Food riots broke out in several parts of India, and had to be suppressed with promptitude. But in the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province there has been a decrease in crime during the period under review. It is pleasant to be able to record that the religious disturbances between the Hindus and the Muhammadans, of which mention was made in last year's report, were almost entirely absent during the period under review.

Dacoity.

One of the most serious forms of crime with which the police of India are called to deal, is that of dacoity, or gang robbery. This is particularly formidable in the United and the Central Provinces, where large tracts still exist in which the population is thin and communications are difficult. In the United Provinces, there were in 1919 regular pitched battles between bands of robbers and the police. The difficulty of dealing with these gangs is largely augmented by the fact that they commit such atrocious cruelties on the unfortunate villagers that few can be found to give evidence against them. Thus it is difficult to catch them except red-handed, and as they disperse and collect with great rapidity, such a task is not easy. Fortunately, however, there is a growing tendency on the part of the villagers to co-operate with the police in bringing such robbers to justice; and the reports for the period under review provide several instances of marked heroism on the part of ordinary villagers and low paid village watchmen. Some of the leaders of these robberies are regular outlaws with a price on their heads. In the Saugor district of the Central Provinces two outlaws named Dhiraj and Kunjal Singh with their companions committed no fewer than five raids and 40 robberies, completely terrorizing the whole of the North and West of the district and encouraging minor criminals to form gangs of their own and emulate their exploits. Their murders included the shooting of a head-constable, and the kidnapping of a police informer, who was waylaid, tied up to a tree and shot dead in cold blood. A large batch of officers and men had to be specially deputed to deal with this gang; but the robbers had so over-awed the neighbourhood that they were able to get well away from the scene of their crime before the panic-stricken villagers dared to report offences. Fortunately, however, the police had a thoroughly well deserved success in a raid, in the course of which the leading robbers were killed and the gang was dispersed.

Difficulties.

It will readily be seen that when a force so small as that of the Indian police is confronted with the task of maintaining order throughout such a vast area, it

must necessarily depend very largely for its efficiency upon the help which is given it by the general public. There are frequent complaints from the provinces that the public maintains an attitude of apathy, displaying little sense of civic responsibility in assisting the police to bring offenders to book. It is perhaps not always realised that civic responsibility is a plant of very slow growth, and that until the system of local self-government in India is extended more widely and is founded more surely on the estimation of the people, it is difficult to expect any marked change in the public attitude. Sometimes, indeed, public opinion is quite definitely against the police, this being more especially the case when any question of religion enters in. From the United Provinces, two cases of human sacrifice are reported. One boy and one girl were sacrificed to propitiate certain deities ; and though the murderers of the boy were convicted, the case could not be brought home to the murderers of the girl owing to local opposition among the population of the village concerned. Signs are not wanting, however, that this attitude on the part of the public is gradually undergoing a change. This result may be ascribed not merely to the increasing dislike of disorder, but also to the growing efficiency of the steps which the police take in dealing with serious trouble. As an example of the latter, there may be quoted the instance of a formidable outbreak which occurred among the Mopplas, fanatical Muhammadans of the Malabar Coast. After committing several murders among the surrounding population, the fanatics retired into a stronghold. A punitive force including motor transport with a 2·5 gun was rushed to the spot and the stronghold was reduced with a promptitude and vigour which must unquestionably have acted as a most salutary object-lesson to the beholders.

Anarchical Crime.

During the period under review, anarchical crime has still further declined. For the first time since 1907, the Bengal Government is able to report that no member of the public lost his life at the hands of the revolutionary party. Three gallant police officers were, however, killed while attempting to arrest anarchists. During the period under review a number of prominent revolutionaries were arrested and some seizures of arms and other implements of revolutionary crime were made in Bengal. The record of the year is a hopeful augury of the final success of the officers of the Intelligence Branch in their struggle with revolutionary conspiracy. Although the party which hopes to attain its end by violent crime is still alive, its influence is steadily waning. It is not too much to hope that with the entry of India upon her career of progress towards responsible government, those impatient spirits who previously found an outlet for their energies in anarchical crime will be able to devote themselves to the promotion by constitutional means of the end which they have at heart. During the period under review, there was only

one sensational conspiracy case, known as the Mainpuri case, in which judgment was delivered on the 1st September 1919. It was proved that a secret revolutionary society existed in Mainpuri, to which some 50 persons, scattered up and down various adjacent districts of the United Provinces, belonged. Misguided youths led astray by older and cleverer men lent themselves to the task of working for the overthrow of British rule. The society worked along four lines, propaganda, military outbreak, secret service, and industrial activity. Its members had been successful in collecting a small quantity of fire-arms, with the aid of which they were able to commit some extremely brutal crimes. One of the worst of these took place in the Hardoi district, the victim of which was a well-to-do Brahmin widow. A band of young men, encouraged by the fact that there were only women in the house, made a raid, shot one maid-servant dead and tortured the mistress of the house until she showed the whereabouts of her moveable property. They finally made off with cash and ornaments to the value of £600, but not before they had shot two villagers who obstructed them. The success with which these wretched criminals were brought to justice is very creditable to the Criminal Intelligence Department but the ready help which was afforded by multitudes of peaceably disposed persons revealed more clearly than anything else the growing public opinion against crime of this description. And despite the disturbances which have occurred in various parts of India during the period under review, it is very significant that it has not been found necessary to put into operation the new legislative weapon, forged for the suppression of anarchical crime known as the Rowlatt Act.

The Mainpuri Conspiracy.

During the year under review, a good deal of public attention has been directed to the question of jail administration. As may easily be understood, in a country of the size of India the efforts of the Local Governments to improve the systems of jail management, being carried on under widely different conditions, have not attained an equal success. Generally speaking, it is believed that attention has mainly been directed hitherto to the improvement of prison administration on lines and standards which in recent times have undergone considerable modification in the West as a result of changing ideas. Further, there is too little intercommunication between the jail administrative agencies of the different provinces, which are thereby to some extent deprived of the benefit which they would otherwise derive from pooling their experience. While exact uniformity of procedure in all provinces is probably undesirable and certainly very difficult of achievement, there is every reason why the general principles governing the treatment of criminals should be the same throughout the country. It was with the idea of investigating

Jails.

the whole question of prison administration in India and applying to the system at present in existence the most valuable of the experience which has recently been gained in the West, that the Government of India appointed, in May 1919, a commission to deal with the whole matter. The commission assembled in London, and examined the working of the prison system of Great Britain. After investigating prison conditions in certain other countries, the members arrived in India towards the end of the period under review, and at the moment of writing are engaged in touring the jails of the various provinces. They have been instructed to examine the efficacy and appropriateness of the existing system of prison administration, including the penal settlement of the Andamans and settlements of criminal tribes; the possibility of strengthening the reformatory influence of prison administration and of discriminating in regard to the treatment of criminals of different classes and ages; and the best means of assisting prisoners after release to regain a position in society.

The Indian Prisons Commission.

It must not, however, be imagined that the appointment of this commission implies that the questions which it has been asked to investigate have not for many years been the subject of study in India. The best of the Indian jails, there is good reason to believe, are in some respects ahead of the jails of European countries. The system of promoting prisoners out of the dread monotony of ordinary jail existence, of giving distinctive dress and a small rate of pay to selected men, has long been the practice of the administration in certain provinces. Increasing attention is paid to the ameliorative treatment of criminals, and to the possibility of reclaiming them for decent society. Much progress has been made towards the ideal of teaching prisoners useful trades which will enable them to earn an honest livelihood on their release. And since the largest number of prisoners—90,000 out of a maximum daily population of under 170,000—come from the agricultural community, the experiment is now being tried of teaching them the latest agricultural improvements under the supervision of the local agricultural department. Agricutural assistants take classes of prisoners round the various fields of a demonstration farm, and give lectures on each plot. In the Central Provinces, it has been found that the jail agricultural farm, after deducting the cost of labour of the prisoners, can show a net profit at the end of the year. Jail industries of various kinds, such as printing, oil pressing, brick and tile making, carpet-making, paper-making and weaving, have long been carried on with success, and have now attained a condition which enables them to pay at least some portion of the expense of the Indian jail system to the community. The cost is increasing year by year. In 1918 it amounted

Jail Administration.

Jail Industries.

to nearly £750,000—an increase of £150,000 on last year's figures. This is attributable to a rise in the jail population which stood at a daily average of 116,000 as against 112,000 in 1917, and to the greatly enhanced cost of foodstuffs; both the one and the other being the direct consequence of the economic stringency which has characterised the period under review. It is however satisfactory to notice that the earning of the prisoners amounted to £98,000 in the year under review—£8,000 more than in 1917. Much remains to be done in the direction of developing jail industries, and the recommendations of the jail commission are awaited with the greatest interest. The goal to be aimed at would seem to be to make the penal system educative and remedial without depriving it of its value as a deterrent.

The treatment of youthful convicts is a topic which has recently come to the fore in India, with the increased interest in social reform which is so marked a feature of present-day thought.

Youthful Prisoners.

The system of segregating prisoners between the ages of 16 and 23 from other prisoners, which is pursued by several Local Governments, has been working very satisfactorily. Great stress is laid on moral and religious instruction, and a special feature is made of physical drill. The efforts which are being made in some provinces to reclaim the unfortunate youths interned on charges of sedition, continue to bear valuable fruit. In two provinces, the Borstal system is doing extremely well. In Bombay the number of adolescents at the juvenile jail has increased from 140 to 180, and a great deal of excellent work has been done. The conduct and work of the class boys was good; and at the close of the year, lads were learning carpentry, gardening, smithy-work and masonry. In the case of the Punjab Borstal jail, results have been even more striking. There has been a decided improvement in the outturn of the factories at the jail, combined with an advance in the quality and method of teaching. The jail has supplied labour to the woollen mills at Dhariwal, which have been engaged solely on Government work throughout the war. So satisfactory was the work of the boys that at the desire of the manager, the number of youths employed was increased until a daily average of over 400 was reached. The management of the mills has offered prisoners on their release permanent employment, free quarters, and instruction in the higher and more remunerative form of work. But although Government can do much by way of providing a really sound training for prisoners under its charge, the ultimate success of any movement for reclaiming prisoners must remain in the hands of the general public. There are already in existence certain organizations which have done most valuable work up and down India in caring for discharged prisoners, and in providing a respectable livelihood for conditionally released men. Among these the Salvation Army deserves

most honourable mention. In the Bombay Presidency, the Released Prisoners' Aid Society has now completed three years of active existence. Prisoners' Aid Societies are also at work in other parts of the Presidency; and the same benevolent activities are carried on in other large centres throughout India. But the work which is being done at present is a mere fraction of what may be done in the future if only public interest can be sufficiently roused upon this most important social question.

The Criminal Tribes.

Another social problem of such importance as to demand passing mention is that presented by the criminal tribes. As mentioned in the last year's report, there are some 4 million individuals who in India have as their hereditary professions theft or burglary. To these occupations they cling with great tenacity, for they have pursued them for generations untold. Their whole structure of social habits is conceived upon the basis of crime. Attention has for some time been devoted to dealing with these people, who in some provinces are responsible for by far the largest proportion of the petty crime committed. An Act passed in 1911, known as the Criminal Tribes Act, permitted portions of these disorderly classes of the population to be concentrated into settlements, where they are subjected

Location in Settlements.

to adequate supervision and assisted to gain a decent livelihood. The problem presented by these criminal tribes is particularly important in the United Provinces, the Punjab, Bombay, and certain of the Indian States. The local governments of the Punjab and of Bombay have spent a good deal of money upon their settlements, and have generally pursued the policy of reclaiming the criminals by a policy of firm kindness. As a whole, the settlements in these two provinces are located in places where there is a demand for labour outside the settlement. In the United Provinces, a rather different policy is pursued. It has not been found possible to spend quite so much money upon the settlements, and more use is made of voluntary agencies, such as the Salvation Army. Here the settlements depend largely upon industries actually carried on within their borders. But there can be no question as to the value of the work which is being performed in all three provinces, though hitherto the Punjab and Bombay have been able to show more striking results both in the prosperity of the settlements and in the decreasing number of crimes which have been brought home to criminal tribesmen. If the whole problem is to be tackled in a satisfactory manner, it is very necessary to pursue the policy of co-operation between British India and the Indian States; otherwise there is a risk lest the tribes should, when the love of wander-

The Indian States.

ing seizes on them, escape from their settlements and make their way over the border into non-British territory. This fact, as well as the obvious advantages

of formulating some kind of common policy as a result of experience gained in such different conditions as those of the Punjab, the United Provinces, and Bombay, induced the Government of India, at the close of the period under review, to hold a conference for the consideration of the working of the Criminal Tribes Act in different parts of India. The proceedings of this conference have not as yet been published; but it is understood that it has been found possible to lay down certain broad lines of policy applicable to the varying conditions both of British India and of the Indian States. High praise must be given to voluntary agencies, such as the Salvation Army, and the various Indian leagues for social service, for the admirable way in which they have assisted the Administration in dealing with this important problem.

Criminal Tribes Conference.

As was noted in last year's report, the system of local self-government now existing in India is largely the creation of British rule, and does not constitute a continuation of the indigenous institutions which were found in the pre-British period. This is particularly true of the system of municipal administration. Starting from the Presidency Towns in the 17th century, municipal institutions gradually developed until in the year 1842 an attempt was made to apply them to towns in the country districts. In 1850, an Act, more workable than its predecessor, was passed which applied to the whole of India and the foundation of the present municipal system was then laid. The first great extension of this system under British rule dates from the years 1881-82, when Lord Ripon's Government issued orders which had the effect of laying down the principles of local self-government and determining the general lines governing the administration of municipalities up to the present day.

Local Self-Government.

The functions of the municipalities are classified under the heads of public safety, health, convenience, and instruction; and for their discharge, various powers are conferred on municipal committees by the Municipal Acts and by the bye-laws framed under them. The municipalities derive about two-thirds of their aggregate income from taxation, the principal item in which is the house and land tax. This in the year under review amounted to over 20 per cent. of their total income. Octroi produced 17 per cent., and the next most productive item was the water rate; which brought in over 11 per cent. of the total income. Other items of revenue are proceeds of municipal lands and buildings, which during the year under review, were responsible for more than 17 per cent. of the total income of the municipalities. Generally speaking, this income is small, nearly 40 per cent. of the all-

India figure being provided by four great cities, Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Rangoon. The total income of the municipalities up and down India amounts to just over £6 million sterling but the average income of all taken together is only £5,000. Since last year's report was written, the total number of municipalities in British India have risen from 721 to 725, and there are now a total of more than 17 million people resident within their limits. Even so, this figure represents only 7 per cent. of the total population of British India and of the municipalities included in the total figure of 725, 532 had a population of less than 22,000. Elected members amount to 54 per cent. of the total number in all municipalities taken together. *Ex-officio* members are 13 per cent. and nominated members 33 per cent. In all municipalities taken together, the non-officials outnumber the officials in the proportion of nearly 5 to 1, the preponderance being greatest in the city of Calcutta, where 94 per cent. of the members are non-officials. Reckoning the numbers of all the municipalities in British India together, it is found that 91 per cent. of them are Indians.

Composition of Municipalities.

The total expenditure of the municipalities of British India, including that debited to the head of "extraordinary" and "debt" amounted in 1917-18 to between £5 million and £6 million sterling. The two main items of expenditure, amounting respectively to 17 and 14 per cent., come under the heading of conservancy and public works; water supply and drainage together amount to nearly 16 per cent; while education and medical relief are approximately equal at the figure of 7 per cent.

Those functions which are assigned in urban areas to the municipalities are in rural areas assigned to the district boards. In each district there is a board, subordniate to which are two or more sub-district boards, while in Bengal, Madras, Bihar and Orissa, there are also union committees. Altogether there are in India about 200 district boards, with 539 sub-district boards subordinate to them, and 639 union committees. The population of the tracts over which boards have jurisdiction, was, according to the local reports, some 213 million in 1917-18. About 50 per cent. of the members of the Boards are elected, the remainder being either nominated or *ex-officio*. The percentage of elected members varies from roughly 75 per cent. in the United Provinces and 74 per cent. in the Central Provinces, to 38 per cent. in the Punjab and 30 per cent. in Bihar and Orissa. The boards are practically manned by Indians who constitute 94 per cent. of the whole membership. During the period under review, the total income of the district boards in British

District Boards.

Composition of the Boards.

India amounted to roughly £5 millions, an increase of £26,000 upon last year's figures. The average income of each district board together with its subordinate sub-district boards was £26,000. The most important item in their revenue is provincial rates which represent a proportion of the total income of the boards varying from 24 per cent. in the Central Provinces to 62 per cent. in Bihar and Orissa. Their principal objects of expenditure are construction and maintenance of public works, which in the year under review, amounted to £2 million, education amounting to £1·2 million, and medical relief amounting to something under £ half a million.

Board Finance.

During the year 1919, there has been a marked activity on the part of the great towns of British India in the direction of improvement. Both Calcutta and Bombay have flourishing Improvement Trusts, the work of each in tackling the housing problem, improving the sanitation of the city, and increasing the amenities of life, is already making itself felt. A similar Trust was started during the year under review for Lucknow, which promises before long to develop into the most beautiful city in India. Although engineering works in connection with municipal improvements are still sadly hampered by the conditions inherited as a legacy from the war, yet on the whole it may be said that the activities of the Improvement Trusts during the period under review have been remarkable. In the case of Calcutta, for example, the activities of the Improvement Trust include the development of suburban areas, the clearing of congested districts, the widening of streets, far-reaching drainage schemes and the like.

Improvement Trusts.

At present it is really only in the largest towns that the institutions of local self-government work in a manner comparable to those of the West, and the unsatisfactory nature of the work of the smaller municipalities has for some time occupied the attention of Government. In last year's report, reference was made to a comprehensive resolution of the Government of India, the aim of which was to lay down the lines of a policy along which future development in municipal self-government might proceed. The matter has long attracted considerable attention in the press of India, it being pointed out on the one side that many of the municipal boards are inefficient in their administration, and on the other side that they have not hitherto received a fair chance to acquire the necessary training, inasmuch as there has usually been a skilled executive officer, fulfilling the functions of chairman of the board, who is able and willing to discharge all the requisite functions. The resolution of the Government of India, to which reference has already been made, puts in the forefront of the objects of local self-government, the

Defective Working of Local Self-Government.

training of the people in the management of their own affairs; this means that political education must take precedence over departmental efficiency. It is hoped that in municipalities there will be a general replacement of nominated official chairmen by elected non-official chairmen. At present, roughly one-third of the chairmen of municipalities in India are nominated officials, one-third elected officials, and one-third elected non-officials. The tendency undoubtedly is in the direction of making all the chairmen elected non-officials, although it is to be noted that in at least one province, municipalities have not always been eager to avail themselves of this privilege where it has existed. The general relaxation of governmental control over local bodies is steadily proceeding, and there is every hope that before long the additional responsibility thrown upon the members of these institutions will induce them to take a greater interest in their work. Already during the year under review, there are signs that this is happening.

The Punjab. In the Punjab, where the reports were not altogether encouraging during the year 1917-18, it now appears that in the bigger towns the elections produced all the bustle and excitement of a keen contest, although in the smaller places an apathetic attitude prevailed among voters. At present as a general rule, it may be stated that the bigger the town the greater the force of public opinion in maintaining the zeal of the municipal commissioners for the people's welfare. But there seems reason to believe that with a general relaxation of official control, the spirit of keenness may make itself felt in the smaller towns also. In the North-West Frontier

N. W. F. Province. Province, where local self-government is of very recent origin, there are already signs that the members of the committees of several municipalities are actuated by genuine public spirit. Although there have been some complaints as to lack of initiative, it is generally agreed that the majority of the members do justice to the responsibilities placed upon them. But it should be noticed that the attitude of apathy towards municipal administration, which largely characterises the general public, is by no means confined to North-Western India, where these institutions are perhaps less in harmony with the general political development of the educated classes than is the case elsewhere. In a province like Bihar

Bihar and Orissa. and Orissa, progress in local self-government still appears slow. But here as elsewhere, elections are now beginning to be hotly contested on the lines of definite parochial policy. In the case of the Patna city municipality, for example, a strong party on the board now considers itself to have been returned with a definite mandate for retrenchment of expenditure and for efficient management within the resources of the municipality. In general, it may be mentioned that municipalities display reluctance to employ

such powers of taxation as are at present in their possession. A general illusion that Government possesses an inexhaustive purse still persists in many places; and while many urban bodies are willing to support costly schemes of sanitary improvement, their suggestions for financing them often do not go beyond a declaration of poverty and an appeal for a Government grant. The burden of municipal taxation in many towns is not as great as ratepayers may be expected to support. The revenue of local bodies is generally considered inexpansive, but there is some reason to believe that in many parts of India, their expansion has not been sufficiently investigated. In last year's report; mention was made of a carefully conducted economic survey of a Bengal district, which has established beyond question the fact that local taxation yields to the local authorities only one half per cent. of the total income of the population of that district. But it is probable that matters will go on much as at present, until the ratepayers or those influencing them become convinced that the provision of material benefits in the way of improved conditions of living is worth the sacrifice involved in the burden of heavier taxation. It is impossible for Government to hasten this consummation directly, otherwise than by educating the people in the principles of public health and sanitation. In several provinces during the year under review the local Governments have announced their intention of organizing an extensive publicity campaign in the larger towns towards this end. During the year 1919, an interesting experiment has been made in the case of Bengal, by holding a conference of representatives of the various district boards. It is generally believed that in cases where charges of apathy can be sustained against non-official members of these boards, it has been due to a considerable extent to the fact that in the district officer they possessed a chairman who was able and willing to do the bulk of the work and to shoulder the responsibility. It is certainly the case that the district officer, owing to the amount of touring which he has to do in the ordinary course of his duties, and the intimate knowledge which he possesses of all particulars of his district, is peculiarly well qualified to direct and control the work of the district board. But this very efficiency on his part has probably had the tendency to discourage activity on the part of the non-official element. The Bengal Government already some little time ago invited the boards in five districts to elect their own non-official chairman and it was announced at the conference to which reference has already been made, that from the commencement of the following financial year 15 more boards were to be invited to follow this course of action. The holding of this conference, under the presidency of His Excellency the Governor of Bengal, aroused considerable interest both among the public and in the press; and may be expected

Taxation.

An Experiment in Bengal.

to produce excellent results in increasing the keenness of the non-official members. But since under the new scheme of reform, local self-government is to figure among the transferred subjects, several provincial Governments during the period under review have announced their intention of suspending legislation upon which they had previously embarked until such time as the new reformed councils shall have been constituted. As a result of this, there has been perhaps less positive activity on the part of provincial Governments in promoting the extension of local self-government, than was the case in the preceding year.

Legislation.

We turn now to a brief examination of the course which has been pursued in law-making during the period under review. In the previous chapters of this report, occasion has been taken to notice from time to time the more important measures which have been passed by or introduced in the provincial legislative councils. The period under review has been marked, so far as the provincial law-making bodies are concerned, by great activity in the sphere of education, public health, and local self-government. Reference may be made in passing to the important Bills for primary education which have been passed in the Punjab, Bengal, Bihar and elsewhere. It is further to be noticed that the problem of rising house rents has attracted attention both in Rangoon and in Bombay, with the result that the provincial Governments of Bombay and Burma have passed Acts restricting the undue rise of rents and a similar measure has been introduced in the Bengal Legislative Council. In Madras a new Act for the municipal administration of Madras City was passed in March and brought into force in October, and a Bill regarding Mufassal municipalities has also been introduced. In Bombay, among other interesting enactments, special mention should be made of a Bill now awaiting the Viceroy's assent, which has the object of making clear that betting offices are within the purview of the Bombay Presidency Gambling Act, and of suppressing betting in streets and other public places. Considerations of space forbid the examination, province by province, of the legislative work which has been accomplished in the year 1919; but as was the case in last year's report, the activities of the Imperial Legislative Council are worthy of study since they will be found sufficiently characteristic of other law-making bodies in modern India.

Provincial Councils.

Indian Legislative Council.

The Delhi session of the Indian Legislative Council of the year 1919 was very largely taken up with debates upon the Rowlatt Bills. Of these, an account has been given elsewhere. But a further feature was the novel procedure adopted in the introduction of the Budget. Lord (then Sir James) Meston introduced a welcome variation upon

former procedure when he prefaced the long and detailed Financial Statement by a speech, in which he confined himself to re-reviewing the salient economic features of the past 12 months. When the financial statement came under discussion, several resolutions of an interesting character were moved. Mr. B. N. Sarma moved a resolution to the effect that the allotment providing for the flotation of a loan of £10 millions be reduced to £4 millions, with the idea of applying the surplus to sanitation, education, the provision of water-supply for rural areas, and other similar objects. The resolution was opposed; but Lord Meston's statement went so far to re-assure the mover that it was ultimately withdrawn. Another resolution by the same gentleman for an increase of £1 million to provide for the extension and improvement of primary education was negatived, although sympathetic statements were made as to Government's anxiety in pushing forward this most important branch of progress. There was also a resolution for the reduction of Budget allotment for railways, which was negatived. The years of war have played such havoc alike with rolling-stock and permanent way that it was pointed out that any attempt to curtail expenditure on this head would seriously endanger the life of hens which had lain golden eggs to the extent of some £50 millions annually.

Resignations and Bye-Elections.

As a protest against the passing of the Rowlatt Act, four additional members resigned their seats and this necessitated bye-elections to fill the vacancies. Applications questioning the validity of two of these bye-elections were received and in one case the election was after enquiry declared to have been duly made. But in the second case certain of the charges of corrupt practices, brought against the successful candidate, were held to have been proved and the election was declared void.

The Simla Session.

The attendance at the Simla session in September 1919 was not as large as in previous years owing to the absence of a number of members in England in connection with the scheme of constitutional reforms. Nevertheless there were 12 meetings of council, and a considerable amount of business was transacted. Notice was received of no fewer than 320 questions and 23 resolutions, of which 199 questions were replied to and 12 resolutions were moved in council. During the session, twenty Bills were introduced, and sixteen were passed into law. The following details of the resolutions discussed in Council will be of some importance as showing clearly the active interest with which non-official members of Council follow the work of Government :—

Resolutions.

On the 10th September 1919, Mr. B. N. Sarma moved a Resolution requesting the Governor-General in Council to convey (*a*) to His Majesty the King-Emperor

the humble message of loyalty and congratulations of the people of India on the conclusion of a victorious peace, (*b*) to His Majesty's Naval, Military and Air forces including the Royal Indian Marine and the Mercantile Marine, the grateful appreciation and thanks of India's citizens for their valuable services and heroic deeds of daring, endurance, skill and sacrifice during the great war, and (*c*) to the civil services, more especially to the Munitions, Railway and Post and Telegraph Departments the thanks of the country for their supreme devotion to duty during the war. The cordial support of the Council was accorded to the Resolution which was unanimously adopted.

In reply to the terms of the Resolution the following telegram was received from the Secretary of State :—

> "I have laid the message of the Legislative Council before His Majesty the King-Emperor, who desires me to request that you will convey to Members of Council an expression of the pleasure and satisfaction with which he has accepted their congratulations on the conclusion of a victorious peace, and their inspiring assurance of loyalty. By His Majesty's Command I have communicated the message to the Prime Minister, and to Parliament, to ensure that the terms of its generous appreciation reached all to whom they extend, and I am authorised to ask that you will express the deep admiration felt by this country at large for the great services rendered by India in the prosecution of the war, and for the successful heroism of her soldiers and sustained co-operation of her citizens in efforts which have brought the great struggle to a triumphant conclusion."

The next Resolution on the 10th September was one by Mr. Madan Mohan Malaviya, which recommended the appointment of a commission to inquire into the causes of the recent disturbances in the Punjab and the propriety of the measures adopted in dealing with them. The appointment of a Committee of Enquiry having already been announced by His Excellency the Viceroy on the 3rd September, the mover found himself in some difficulty, and after an unsuccessful endeavour to amend his Resolution, decided to proceed with it in its original form. A somewhat heated and acrimonious debate followed and was continued on the 12th September, when the motion was put to the Council and negatived without a division.

Two somewhat similar Resolutions were moved on the same day by Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda. He first recommended the appointment of a committee to investigate the causes and nature of the recent outbreaks of disorder in Delhi. Sir William Vincent having explained that the Punjab Enquiry would cover the case of Delhi also,

the Resolution was by leave of the Council withdrawn. The second Resolution related to the circumstances of the firing upon the crowds in Calcutta in April 1919, but received no support from the representatives of Bengal on the Council and little support from the Council in general. The Resolution was rejected.

On the 15th September Mr. Chanda, in moving a Resolution recommending that Simla should cease to be the summer headquarters of the Punjab Government, contended that the matter was of more than provincial importance. The members from the Punjab lent no support to the proposition, and Sir William Vincent on behalf of Government opposed the Resolution in the specific form in which it was framed. He referred to the proposals made by Lord Curzon's Government in 1903 and in 1905 that the Punjab Government should be moved from Simla and that Simla should be made an Imperial enclave, and the reasons which led the Secretary of State to reject those proposals. Sir William Vincent further explained that the matter had been re-examined by a Committee in 1917, and that the Committee had decided not to make any specific recommendation but to leave the question open for discussion should necessity arise. He thought the Council would do well to leave the question at that. The Resolution was however, pressed and lost.

Mr. Chanda next moved a Resolution recommending that immediate steps be taken for the reduction of the prevailing high prices of food and cloth. Mr. Mant in reply examined the causes of, and explained the steps that had been taken to deal with the problems of scarcity and the high prices of food-stuffs. The discussion was resumed on the 16th September when Mr. Ley gave a short account of the measures adopted to deal with the high prices of cloth. The Resolution was eventually accepted by Government and adopted by the Council in a slightly amended form.

Sir Dinshaw Wacha's kindred Resolution recommending the appointment of a committee to investigate and report on the extent to which profiteering is prevalent in India and to suggest remedies, was also accepted by Government in a modified form and adopted by the Council.

On the same day Mr. Nathmal brought forward a motion recommending the introduction of a Bill to establish and incorporate a University at Nagpur. Mr. Muhammad Shafi, the Education Member, on behalf of Government accepted the Resolution, subject, in view of the necessity for considering the bearing of the report of the Calcutta University Commission on the proposed University at Nagpur, to reservations as to the date on which the necessary legislation should be undertaken and as to whether the Bill should be brought forward in the Imperial or the local Legislative Council. The Resolution of Mr. W. E. Crum (non-official) that the question of removing the Calcutta Mint to another

site be taken into consideration, seemed to interest only the Bengal Members of the Council, and received the support of Mr. Abdur Raheem and the Maharaja of Kassimbazar but not that of Mr. Sita Nath Roy. Mr. Howard on behalf of Government explained the previous history of the case, and stated that Government could not commit themselves, but were willing to enquire into the matter with a view to a decision when a suitable new site was available and the approximate cost of removing the Mint to it had been ascertained. The Resolution was adopted.

On the 23rd September Mr. Sarma brought forward a Resolution recommending that a State Bank on the lines suggested by Professor Keynes in his Annexure to the Report on the Indian Currency should be established in India at a very early date. The Resolution was supported by the Maharaja of Kassimbazar and Mr. Malaviya, but did not otherwise evoke much enthusiasm. Mr. Howard stated in reply that Government were wholly in accord with much of what had been said by Mr. Sarma, and they fully recognised the importance of a very large increase in banking facilities in India and the necessity for their wider distribution for the economic development of the country and the weaning of the people from their habits of hoarding coin and bullion. He was, however, unable to accept the methods suggested by the mover for securing the end in view, and explained that the Secretary of State had already been approached with a scheme designed to develop banking facilities in India, by the amalgamation of the three presidency Banks. The Resolution was put to the vote and lost. Mr. Crum's Resolution on the subject of the electrification of the suburban railways around Calcutta and the improvement of local passenger transport and terminal facilities was accepted on behalf of Government by Sir George Barnes, Member in charge of the Department of Commerce and Industries, who explained that he proposed to call a meeting of representatives of the Railways concerned to discuss the matter in Calcutta during the cold weather.

The last Resolution of the Simla session of 1919, was moved by Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha. It recommended the appointment of an Indian member, chosen from amongst the non-official Indian members of the Council, to the recently constituted Indian Army Commission. Major-General Bingley, Secretary to Government in the Army Department, announced on behalf of Government that the Secretary of State with the concurrence of His Excellency the Viceroy, had already appointed Major Malik Sir Umar Hayat Khan Tiwana to be a member of the Committee to the composition and functions of which he briefly referred. The discussion of the Resolution had not been completed when the Council rose and the time assigned for Resolutions having expired, the Resolution was in accordance with the rules considered to have been withdrawn.

Bills.

The bills passed through the September session in Council are of some interest. The Poisons Act (XII of 1919) repealed the Act of 1904, conferring powers for more adequate control over the traffic in poison, by enabling local Governments to regulate the possession and sale anywhere within their respective territories. The Sea Customs Amendment Act (XIII of 1919) empowered customs authorities to take, on payment, samples of imported drugs and articles of food for examination, with the object of enabling the municipal health officers to follow up, and take action in respect of, adulterated articles imported by sea. Of some interest also is the Indian Naturalisation Amendment Act (XVI of 1919) which brought the local law of India into line with the British law on the subject, by enabling local Governments to revoke certificates of naturalisation issued under the Act of 1852 in the same manner as is provided for in the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Acts of 1914 and 1918. That is to say, certificates may be revoked not only when it appears they have been obtained by false representation or fraud, but also when the holder has shown himself to be disaffected to His Majesty or otherwise unfit to continue to enjoy the privileges of British nationality. Considering its importance, comparatively little interest was excited by the Indian Tariff Amendment Act (XIX of 1919) providing for the levy of an *ad valorem* duty of 15 per cent. on raw hides and skins exported to foreign countries, with a rebate of 10 per cent. for hides and skins imported for tanning to any place within the British Empire. The object of this was to encourage manufacture within the Empire instead of the export of raw materials for the benefit of manufacturers in foreign countries. Some account has already been given in another place both of the Indemnity Act, and of the proposal for the amalgamation of the Presidency Banks. It is therefore unnecessary to do more than mention them in this place.

Ordinances.

During the period under review seven ordinances were promulgated, of which six were made to meet the emergency arising out of the recent disturbances in the Punjab and other parts of India. All these ordinances expired after the statutory period of six months for which they were enforced. The necessity for some such legislation was sufficiently explained by the proceeding accompanying the despatch to the Secretary of State in regard to the first of the series. The proceeding was as follows :—

> " The existence of a state of open rebellion in certain parts of the province of the Punjab has rendered it necessary for the Governor-General in Council (in exercise of the powers conferred by Section 2 of the Bengal State Offences Regulation 1804), to suspend the functions of the ordinary Courts of

Judicature within the districts of Lahore and Amritsar in respect of offences described in that Regulation, to establish martial law in those districts, and to direct the trial by Courts-Martial of persons charged with such offences. It is considered necessary that every such trial under Regulation X of 1804 except those already held or begun to be held by Court-Martial, should be held by a Commission consisting of three persons, at least two of whom shall have served as Sessions Judges or Additional Sessions Judges for not less than three years or shall be qualified for appointment as Judges, of a High Court, instead of by Court-Martial. As the matter will not permit of any delay the Governor General has decided to deal with it by an Ordinance, having retrospective effect in respect of offences committed on or after the 13th April 1919, and conferring on the local Government power to appoint one or more Commissions vested with all the powers of a general Court-Martial under the Indian Army Act, 1911 (with the exception that Sections 78, 80 and 82 of that Act will not apply) and following generally the procedure prescribed by the Army Act of 1911 for the regulation of trials by Court-Martial; provided that where the local Government considers a summary trial necessary in the interests of public safety it may direct that the Commission shall follow the procedure for a summary general Court-Martial prescribed by that Act."

Rouble Notes.

The seventh ordinance was the Rouble Note Ordinance, promulgated on the 6th December 1919, to suppress the circulation of Russian rouble notes, which were believed to be reaching India in connection with Bolshevik propaganda. The necessity for this step is shown by the large number of notes which have since been deposited in certain treasuries in India, as well as by the profound effect which it has exercised upon the credit, already diminished almost to vanishing point, of the Bolshevik issues of paper money in Central Asia.

The Services.

Among other topics deserving of mention in considering the general relation between the Administration and the people of India, is the future position of the services under the reforms scheme. During the years of war rising prices and fixed incomes have combined to hit all the Indian services very hard; and one of the most urgent problems concerning the administration of India on the cessation of hostilities was the introduction of schemes, based principally upon the recommendations of the Public Services Commission, for the improvement of the pay and prospects of the services

in India. As must have been amply apparent from what has been said in the earlier chapters of this report, the whole system of Indian administration is based upon very rigid economy. India is entirely unique in accomplishing the administration of the affairs of some 300 million people on a budget of a little over £120 million. The consequence of this is that the work performed by the handful of English officials at the head of different branches of the Administration is extremely heavy; and it is false economy from every point of view not to pay the market value for the right stamp of man. During the period of the war, fears were frequently expressed that without a radical alteration in the pay and conditions of several important services, it would shortly be impossible to obtain recruits. As a consequence of the realisation of the force of this warning, schemes for improvements in the pay and prospects of the Indian services have occupied much attention during the period under review. The Army, the Indian Civil Service, the Police, the Indian Medical Service, the Forest Service, the Education Service, and other branches of the Administration have all obtained the benefit of schemes designed for the amelioration of their working conditions. That this amelioration has not been accomplished without criticism on the part of the Indian press is naturally to be expected; but fortunately there are signs that a strong body of opinion is now growing up to the effect that it is necessary for the future of the country to attract into the public services men of first class capacity. And since along with the proposals for the amelioration of service conditions, there are corresponding proposals for the progressive Indianisation of the services, the cry which was raised in former days against the undue generosity displayed by Government towards its employees is fast losing all racial characteristics. In the next few years India will come to rely more and more upon her permanent officials, not indeed for the direction of policy, but for its administration. As to the future of the Indian services under the reforms scheme, it is difficult to add anything to the words of Lord Chelmsford in his opening speech at the Delhi session of the Imperial Legislative Council :—

Work of the Services.

Improved Conditions.

"It is indeed natural that the services should feel keen anxiety as to their place in the future scheme of things. The Secretary of State and I could not within the compass of our Report elaborate in full detail all the issues arising out of our proposals for Reform, but now that the criticisms and discussions of the past months have brought home to us something of the misgivings and anxieties which our services are feeling, I propose to take this opportunity of stating, as clearly as I can, what my conception of their future position is.

Future of the Services.

And first let me say this. The services of India have just come through a long period of exceptional strain. Their strength has been seriously depleted by the war. They have been called upon not merely to run the administration with a far weaker staff; not merely to help to steady men's minds during periods of depression and alarm; but they have also had to organise and promote many forms of war activity. It has been out of the question to let them take leave, and so they have stayed at their posts year after year doing double work, often to the detriment of their health and commonly at the sacrifice of domestic comfort. They have been hard hit by rising prices; and they have come in for attacks arising out of the agitation in connection with the Reforms which have sometimes been ungenerous and unfair. But they have risen superior to all these things, and as Viceroy I am proud and glad to acknowledge on behalf of my Government the part they have played in keeping India contented and quiet, and in helping to win the war. And now the war is over they seem to see before them difficulties and sacrifices greater still. I want the services to know that my Government and I are fully cognisant and deeply appreciative of all these things.

War-work of the Services.

"Let me state then, as clearly as I can, what I conceive to be the governing conditions of this problem. The changes which we are setting about in India must gradually involve a profound alteration in the position of the public services. Hitherto the great administrative and technical bodies of men recruited from England—such as the Indian Civil Service, the Indian Police, the Indian Medical Service, the Indian Education Service, the Indian Forest Service, the Public Works Department—have not been civil services in the sense in which that word is generally understood. I have indeed seen criticisms which assumed that our public services had usurped to themselves a place which Parliament never assigned to them. That, as every reader of history knows, is a wholly wrong and unfair suggestion. The services were sent to India by Parliament not as the executive agents of a popular government in India but to administer the country under the official Government of India. No one else could have done the work which they have done. They could not have done it themselves, had their position been different. Now with the introduction of responsible government in India,

Their Changed Position.

however limited at first, a change must begin. If we set up ministers, ministers must administer; and the permanent services must execute. That is so well accepted a maxim of our British policy that no one will dispute it. This then is my first proposition.

Their Future Position.

But to suppose as has been alleged that we propose to place the services as a whole in helpless subordination to inexperienced and possibly hostile ministers; that we intend not merely to deprive them of power, but to require them blindly to execute policies which they cannot reconcile with their self-respect, is very seriously to misconceive our purpose. Let me explain at once why that is impossible. Progress to further constitutional growth in India is to come not by a process of drift; not by the English Departments or Governments throwing up the sponge out of weariness or a sense that they are fighting a losing game; not by our taking back our hand from the plough; but by the response made by Indians to the great opportunity now offered them by the measured verdict of the highest outside impartial authority upon their performance. It is recognised at the present moment that the time is not ripe for Indians to take over the entire management of the country. Every moderate and thoughtful Indian admits that truth himself. And government, believe me, is not the simple thing it may sometimes seem. The help of the services, trained, efficient, impartial, with their high standards of duty, of character, of the public interest, is absolutely essential if this vast experiment is to succeed. We cannot afford and we do not mean to lose them until India acquires, what she has not got at present, something approximately as good to put in their place. That is my second proposition.

Safeguards for the Future.

"The Secretary of State and I have declared our intention to protect the services in the defence of their rights and the discharge of their duties. I see that apprehensions have been aroused by the general character of this phraseology. Let me now, speaking for myself and my Government, endeavour to give precision to the undertaking. In the first place as regards their pay and pensions, I propose that the pay, pensions, leave and conditions of service generally, of the services recruited from England, shall be guaranteed at least by statutory orders of the Secretary of State, which no authority in India will have power to disregard or vary.

My idea is that the all-India services are to be retained, as in a mould cast by Parliament and the Secretary of State, as an exemplar to all the services drawn exclusively from India. In this respect, therefore, I see no cause for disquiet.

"I pass to a more difficult question, and one which I know is causing more doubt than any mere questions of money, the position of the services which are under Indian Ministers.

The Services and the Ministers.

Now I am not going to recite the series of ways in which I conceive it possible that difficulty may arise. I ask you to take it from me that my Government and I have considered this field very anxiously and have had vividly before our minds the sort of troubles that may arise over posting or promotion, or policy or professional questions or discipline. How then can these potential difficulties be mitigated? In the first place, we hope to get as ministers responsible men who will realize how greatly the services can help them. There is more in this than a pious hope. We may look to what has happened elsewhere. It has often been the case that men going in fresh to office, full of prejudice against the public services, have found them their best ally and protector against the critics which every administrator encounters, and have ended by gaining the full confidence of the service and giving the service theirs. Secondly, we do not intend to leave the handling of the services wholly to the minister. We propose to instruct the Governor, in a published instrument, that we lay on him a personal responsibility for securing the welfare of the services. He will disallow proposals that aim or tend towards their disintegration. The head of every department under ministers will have access to the Governor. He will be in a position to represent difficulties to him before they become acute: and it will be for the Governor to deal with them by influence and persuasion, and finally by tactful exercise of authority. Lastly, we propose to secure all existing rights of appeal to the Government of India and the Secretary of State whenever an officer is prejudicially affected as regards emoluments or pension by a minister's order.

Work of the Governor.

How these arrangements will work, you and I can only leave it to experience to show. But I think that the services will accept them as an earnest attempt to fulfil the pledges which we have given. It may be that even more provisions will be required. But about those I will say nothing at present, because I am anxious to give no countenance to the idea that

the services will find their position made impossible. I will merely add that the Government of India will always regard this question of the fair treatment of the services as one of the cardinal tests by which our great experiment will be judged."

Land Revenue.

Last but by no means least important among the topics which deserve attention in any account of the year 1919, is that which comes under the heading of land revenue settlement. The importance of this matter in a country so largely agricultural as India, has been frequently recognised, and one of the great administrators of the early Nineteenth century summed up its importance in the aphorism that he who holds in his hand the land settlement of India holds in his hand the main-spring of the public peace. A noteworthy occurrence in the year under review was the result of the enquiries made by the Government of Bihar and Orissa into the prevalence of a system of serfdom in certain districts of the province. Reference has already been made to this in another place; but it should be noticed that definite remedial measures have been proposed in the shape of legislation to regulate and restrict agreements entered into by labourers in consideration of advances made to them by their employers.

Serfdom in Bihar.

Bengal.

In Bengal, the year was marked by the introduction of an important Bill to consolidate and amend the law relating to the construction of drainage and other works for the improvement of the agricultural and sanitary conditions of certain areas. The existing law is too cumbrous for application to the many schemes of sanitary and agricultural improvement which it is hoped to push on in the near future; and the Bill provides a simple procedure for the execution of large or small improvement of schemes on the initiative of private individuals or bodies such as co-operative societies. The question of land revenue assessment is one to which great public interest has long attached. It has frequently been pointed out in the public press that certain classes of taxation, of which land revenue is the most important, can be laid upon the people of India by executive action without, in some cases, any statutory limitation of the rates; and in other cases, any adequate prescription by statutory methods of assessment. At present, the statutory basis for charging revenue on the land varies in different provinces; but in some at least the pitch of assessment is entirely at the discretion of the executive government. Although no branch of the administration is regulated with greater elaboration or care, the people who are most affected have little voice in the shaping of the system, and the rules are often imperfectly understood by those who pay the revenue. So far back as 1917 local Governments

Land Revenue Assessment.

and Administrations were asked to consider the question of adopting methods for giving publicity to Settlement proposals, such as were already in existence in Madras, Bombay, Assam, and the Central Provinces. The object was to afford the persons affected by such proposals an opportunity of objecting to them before final orders were passed. All provinces having large temporarily settled tracts, have accepted the suggestion in principle. In Burma the consideration of the question has been postponed until the whole subject of revenue settlement in that province has been thoroughly investigated by a Committee of expert revenue officers. This matter was brought before the notice of the Joint Committee on the Government of India Bill who were impressed by the objections raised by many witnesses to the whole system. The committee were of opinion that the time had come to embody in the law the main principles by which the land revenue is determined, the methods of valuation, the pitch of assessment, the periods of revision, the graduation of enhancements, and the other chief processes which touch the well-being of the revenue payers. The committee however, pointed out that the subject is one which probably would not be transferred to Ministers until the electorates included a satisfactory representation of rural interests, those of the tenantry as well as the land-lord, and they recommended that the system should be established on a clear statutory basis before this change takes place.

Views of the Joint Committee.

CHAPTER VI.

Constitutional Reforms.

Beyond question, the outstanding event of the year 1919 in India has been the introduction of the new scheme of constitutional reform. This scheme, foreshadowed last year in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, assumed definite shape in the year under review, and in December 1919 was crystallised into an Act of Parliament. So important, both for the present and for the future development of India, are the changes now to be introduced, that it is necessary to devote considerable space to an examination of the existing constitution of India as well as to various stages through which the reform scheme has passed, prior to its embodiment in the Government of India Act of 1919. The purpose of this chapter is to show how far the Government of India Act of 1919 has modified the existing constitution and machinery of Government.

The Government of India.

The present constitution of the Government of India has been framed by Parliament which exercises its control through the Secretary of State.

The position of the Secretary of State for India, who is responsible to Parliament, is defined in section 2 of the Government of India Act of 1915. Under section 1 of the same Act, the territories for the time being vested in His Majesty in India are governed by and in the name of His Majesty the King, Emperor of India, and all rights which * * might have been exercised by the East India Company in relation to any territories, may be exercised in the name of His Majesty as rights incidental to the Government of India. The Secretary of State superintends and controls all acts, operations and concerns which relate to the Government or revenues of India, and all grants and salaries, gratuities and allowances, and all other payments and charges out of or on the revenues of India, and he performs all the acts and duties relating to the Government or revenues of India and exercises such control over all officers appointed under this Act as should have been exercised or performed by the East India Company or by the Court of Directors or Court of Proprietors of that Company.

Position of Parliament and of Secretary of State.

The Secretary of State has to supply all information with regard to Indian affairs that is demanded of him. Any action taken in the course of his control over the Government of India can be challenged by a member of Parliament in either House. The Secretary of State

also has to submit every year an account of the Indian receipts and expenditure both in India and in England; and although the Indian Budget is not subject to the criticism of Parliament in the same sense as the Budget presented by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Budget debate itself has normally been the principal occasion for drawing attention to all sorts of questions in India in addition to those arising intimately out of the Budget itself.

Position of the Secretary of State.

The Secretary of State for India is assisted by two under-secretaries, one Parliamentary and the other permanent, and a Council. The Council consists of from ten to fourteen members, each appointed for seven years of whom nine at least must have served or resided in British India for ten years, and must not have left India for more than five years previously to their appointment. The Secretary of State for India represents, in fact, the supreme element of expert control at the higher end of the chain of official administration. In his corporate capacity he has delegated wide powers to the Indian administration without divesting himself of his ultimate responsibilities as the governing authority. The Secretary of State, as distinct from the Secretary of State in Council, is generally responsible as a Minister for the co-ordination of Indian and Imperial policy. Under the law the Council can obstruct his policy or indeed the policy of His Majesty's Government, by interposing their financial veto if Indian revenues are affected. But in practice they have acknowledged the supremacy of the Imperial executive by accepting the proposals communicated to them as decisions of the Ministry in so far as those proposals raise issues on which they are legally competent to decide. All measures, administrative, financial, and legislative, of the authorities in India are referred to the Secretary of State in Council for examination and decision, except in so far as by a general or special order he has delegated powers of sanction. The Secretary of State in Council retains the ultimate authority as the Head of the System. In regard to certain decisions, and notably in regard to the grant or appropriation of any part of the revenues of India, the concurrence of a majority of votes at a meeting of the Council of India is required. Indeed in all matters, with two exceptions, the Secretary of State is bound to consult his Council, either at a weekly meeting or by the formal procedure of depositing his proposed orders on the table of the Council room for seven days prior to their issue, though he is empowered to over-rule the Council's recommendations. The two exceptions are :—(1) cases of urgency when he may issue orders without previously consulting the Council, provided that he subsequently communicates to the members his reasons for his action; and (2) where an order or communication concerns the levying of war or the making of peace, or the public safety, or the defence of the realm,

or the conduct of negotiations with any prince or State, or the policy to be observed with respect to any princes and State, when the majority of votes therefor at a meeting of the Council of India is not required.

Prior to the Government of India Act of 1919, the members of the Council used to be paid an annual salary of £1,000 and the entire cost of the establishment at the India Office including the salary of the Secretary of State and other officials, was borne by India.

The Executive Council.

Turning now to the authorities in India, it will be realised that the Government of India is vested in the Governor-General in Council. The executive council at the present time consists of seven members, excluding the Governor-General; the portfolios of this executive council are:—(1) Home, (2) Revenue, (3) Finance, (4) Legislative, (5) Commerce and Industry, (6) Education, and (7) Army; the Foreign and Political Department is under the direct control of the Governor-General himself.

Composition of the Government of India.

Of the members of the Viceroy's executive council, three must have served the Crown in India for at least ten years and one must be a Barrister. There has not been a statutory bar to the appointment of Indians, and as a matter of fact the portfolio of law and that of education have each in two successive instances been held by Indians.

We will next deal with the Indian Legislative Council which is governed by the Indian Councils Act of 1909. Under the Act it consists of the members of the executive council of the Viceroy, not more than 35 members nominated by the Governor-General, and 25 elected members, with the Governor-General as president. There is an official majority, and among the persons who are not eligible for election are those who have been declared by the Governor-General in Council to be of such reputation and antecedents that their election would, in the opinion of the Governor-General in Council, be contrary to the public interest.

The functions of the Legislative Council are not confined to the subject its designation suggests. It discusses the financial statement of the coming year and other matters of general public interest. Questions are asked for the purpose of eliciting information, although the President has the privilege of disallowing certain questions if he considers them prejudicial to the public interests. Members have also the right of asking supplementary questions. Resolutions are moved either with a view to drawing the attention of Government to particular matters, or making particular recommendations to it but the resolutions, even if carried, are not binding upon Government.

Having thus briefly described the existing constitution of the Central Government, we now proceed to examine the governmental system of

the provinces. For purposes of administration British India is divided into nine major provinces and six lesser charges. The former comprise the three presidencies of Madras, Bombay and Bengal; the four Lieutenant-Governorships of the United Provinces, the Punjab, Burma, and Bihar and Orissa; and the two Chief Commissionerships of the Central Provinces and Assam. The minor charges are the North-West Frontier Province, British Baluchistan, Coorg, Ajmer-Merwara, the Andamans, and Delhi.

Heads of Provinces.

The Governors are appointed by the Crown, and although there is no statutory bar to the appointment of a member of the Indian Civil Service to a Governorship in practice such appointments have almost invariably been held by men chosen from public life in England. The Lieutenant-Governorships in all cases and the Chief Commissionerships of Assam and the Central Provinces are held by members of the Indian Civil Service.

Provincial Executive Councils.

Under the Indian Councils Act of 1909, the strength of the Executive Council in the three Presidencies as well as in Bihar and Orissa, is fixed at a maximum of four, of whom two at least must have served the Crown in India for at least twelve years at the time of the appointment. At present however each of the executive councils consists of three members two of whom are taken from the Indian Civil Service and one is a non-official Indian.

Governors, Lieutenant-Governors and Chief Commissioners.

Presidency Governors still enjoy some relics of their former independence. They can correspond direct with the Secretary of State, unless financial issues are involved; they can appeal to him against orders of the Government of India; they have full discretion in selecting the officers for important offices under them; and they are less liable to supervision than other provinces in the administration of their revenue and their forests. In an emergency the Governor can also over-rule his colleagues, but otherwise his decisions are those of the majority. Lieutenant-Governors are appointed by the Governor-General in Council, subject to the approval of the Crown, and they must, unlike a Governor, have served at least ten years in India prior to their appointment. Chief Commissioners are appointed by the Governor-General in Council and theoretically administer a territory on his behalf but in practice the powers entrusted to a Chief Commissioner are nearly as wide as those of a Lieutenant-Governor, and with the creation of Legislative Councils in the Central Provinces and Assam, any distinction in administrative methods is tending to disappear except in the case of the less important charges which derive their authority entirely from the Governor-General in Council.

Provincial Legislative Councils.

The Governors as well as the Lieutenant-Governors have a legislative council, and one has recently been created in the Central Provinces. The principle of the non-official majority has been conceded in the cases of all the local legislative councils. The functions of these councils, apart from legislation are, like those of the Indian Legislative Council, only advisory, and the head of the province is not bound by their resolutions, even if they are carried against the Government.

The last agency to be considered under this head is the various civil services of India. Their constitution is far too well known to need recapitulation. It will therefore suffice to consider later on the changes which will take place in their functions under the constitutional reforms.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme.

The first important stage in the history of the present constitutional reforms was marked by the declaration of the 20th August 1917. This was followed by the issue, in July 1918, of the Report signed by His Excellency the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India. This Report constituted a distinct advance and a new departure from all previous efforts at constitutional progress in India, in so far as it attempted definitely to confer on India responsible government by progressive stages together with a substantial step towards its immediate realisation. The Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme did not merely contemplate a further development of the reforms which had been inaugurated under the Indian Councils Act of 1909.

Its authors recommended that a substantial step should be taken at once to give some measure of responsibility to representatives chosen by an electorate and laid down four formulæ :—(1) "There should be, as far as possible, complete popular control in local bodies, and the largest possible independence for them of outside control." (2) "The provinces are the domain in which the earlier steps towards the progressive realisation of responsible government should be taken. Some measure of responsibility should be given at once, and our aim is to give complete responsibility as soon as conditions permit. This involves at once giving the provinces the largest measure of independence legislative, administrative, and financial, of the Government of India which is compatible with the due discharge by the latter of its own responsibilities." (3) "The Government of India must remain wholly responsible to Parliament, and, saving such responsibility, its authority in essential matters must remain indisputable, pending experience of the effect of the changes now to be introduced in the provinces. In the meantime, the Indian Legislative Council should be enlarged and made more representative and its opportunities of influencing Government increased," (4) "In proportion as the foregoing changes take effect,

the control of Parliament and the Secretary of State over the Government of India and provincial Governments must be relaxed."

The report recommended that the provincial Budgets should be entirely separate from that of the Government of India and that a fixed contribution to the Imperial revenue should supersede the present divided heads*. Subject to this contribution, each provincial Government was to be free to control its own finances with certain powers of borrowing and taxation. The administration in the provinces would be divided into two parts, namely, the " reserved subjects " and the " transferred subjects " the reserved subjects remaining under a Governor and his Executive Council, the transferred subjects, on the other hand, being made over entirely to non-official Indian Agency in the shape of Ministers to be chosen by the Governor from amongst the elected members of the legislative council, and holding office for its life. The Executive Council of the Governor was to consist of two members, of whom in practice one would be a European official, and the other an Indian. The idea underlying this dual system of Government, generally known as " dyarchy " was to train Indian ministers in the practice of responsible government, with the professed intention of transferring to them a greater and greater share of the burden of the administration, in proportion to their increasing fitness to sustain it. The actual details of this division of the functions of Government between reserved and transferred subjects was to be effected by a committee, to be subsequently appointed ; and was to conform to the conditions and the needs of each individual province, so that no uniform scheme need necessarily apply to all the provinces. The legislative councils were to be given substantial elected majorities and the members were to be chosen by direct election on as broad a franchise as possible. The franchise itself was to be settled by a committee to be appointed later on. The report also recommended the formation of standing committees for each department or group of departments which were to be associated with the Member or the Minister in charge. It was recommended that Members should have the right of asking questions, including supplementary questions.

Grand Committee.

For the purpose of enabling the provincial government to get through its legislation on reserved subjects, however, the Report recommended that if a measure dealing with these was not passed by the Legislative Council and the Governor considered its enactment " essential to the discharge of his responsibility " for the reserved subjects, he should refer it to a Grand Committee comprising of 40 to 50 per cent. of its strength and chosen from his Council for each Bill, partly by election by ballot and partly

* See Chapter IV *ante*.

by nomination, with power to the Governor to nominate a bare majority exclusive of himself. On emerging from the Grand Committee the Bill would be laid before the Legislative Council which would have the right to discuss the Bill again generally but would not be able to reject it, or to amend it, except on the motion of a member of the Executive Council. After such discussion the Bill would pass automatically though the Council would be free to record its objection in a resolution and such resolution would be transmitted along with the Act to the Governor-General and the Secretary of State.

The budgets were to be framed by the executive Government as a whole, with the contribution to the Government of India as the first charge. After this, the supply for the reserved subjects would have priority. The allocation of supply for the transferred subjects would be decided by the Ministers. If the revenue proved insufficient, the question of additional taxation was to be decided by the Governor and the Ministers. The Budget would then be laid before the council, which would discuss and vote by resolutions on the allotments. If the Legislative Council modified the proposed allotment for reserved subjects the Governor was to have power to insist on the whole or any part of the allotment originally provided. Except in so far as the Governor exercised this power the budget would be altered in accordance with the resolutions carried in Council.

General effect of proposed scheme on the provinces.

The effect of carrying out the recommendations would be to establish real provincial autonomy, financial, administrative and legislative, and to transfer gradually to the people of India, as the electorate grew more educated, the responsibility which the Government now has to the British electorate. Periodic commissions at intervals of ten years were recommended for the purpose of revising the list of transferred and reserved subjects,—the idea being to establish complete provincial autonomy as soon as conditions permitted it.

Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme : The Central Government.

Into the Government of India, however, the Montagu-Chelmsford report did not recommend the introduction of dyarchy, holding that until complete responsible government was established in the provinces, the Government of India must remain responsible to Parliament and must therefore possess indisputable authority in matters it considered necessary for the preservation of peace, order and good government. Therefore, while the report recommended a non-official majority in the Supreme Legislative Council, it proposed, as a means of enabling the Executive Government to secure its essential legislation, the establishment of a Council of State.

As regards the constitution of the Executive Council, it was recommended that there should be two Indian members of Council

instead of one, and that some of the existing restrictions on the choice of members of council should be removed.

A Legislative Council of 100 members was recommended—two-thirds elected, and one-third nominated, and communal election was retained for Muhammadans and granted to Sikhs in the Punjab.

The Council of State was to consist of 50 members, 21 elected and 29 nominated, of whom not more than 25 should be officials.

Legislation.

In regard to official legislation, it was recommended that Bills should ordinarily be introduced in the Legislative Assembly and then go up to the Council of State; but in case of difference between the two Chambers, a joint session was to be held to consider the Bills. The same procedure was recommended in the case of a private Bill except in so far that such Bill was to be introduced in the Legislative Assembly or the Council of State, according as the member introducing it belonged to the one or the other. In the event of the Legislative Assembly rejecting an amendment accepted by the Council of State, which the Governor-General in Council regarded as essential to peace, order, and good government, he was empowered to give a certificate to this effect, and the amendment would thereafter become law. The Assembly would not have the power to reject or modify such an amendment, nor would such an amendment be open to revision in a joint session. In the same way, if the Legislative Assembly refused leave to introduce a Bill or rejected it at any stage, and the Governor-General in Council regarded that Bill as essential, he could issue a similar certificate and the Bill would be introduced in the Council of State, and after it was accepted there, it would operate as law.

The Budget.

The Budget was to be introduced in the Legislative Assembly and discussed there; but resolutions thereon were to be advisory and not binding. As in the provinces, standing committees were recommended to be appointed in order to co-operate with the executive. In the case of the Government of India as well as the provincial Governments a Parliamentary Commission was proposed to consider the working of the system, and in proportion, as the system might be shown to have justified itself, it was to be extended and enlarged.

The report recommended the creation of a Privy Council for India appointments to which would be made by His Majesty the King from amongst men of distinction drawn from all classes, official as well as non-official, whose function it would be to advise the Governor-General whenever he desired to consult them. The Indian Members of the Council would enjoy the title of "the Honourable."

Decentralisation.

In proportion as authority was transferred in India from the existing Government to the proposed non-official Agency, it would become necessary for the Secretary of State and the India Office, to relax their own control over the Government of India, and for the Government of India in its turn to relax its control over the provincial administrations. It was further recommended that the organisation of the India Office should be re-considered by a committee sitting in London for the purpose, so that the India Office should in future be organised in such a manner as to discharge its functions as expeditiously as possible. It was also suggested that as it would be necessary for the Secretary of State still to have around him a number of experts, it should be arranged that recruitment to the India Office staff should admit of the interchange of personnel between the public services in India and the India Office.

As regards the public services, in conformity with the policy of the report, important recommendations were made.

First, subject to certain conditions, all existing racial bars for appointment to the public services should be abolished; secondly, in order to increase the Indian element in the services, recruitment for a fixed percentage of the services now recruited in England was to be instituted in India; thirdly, in the case of the Indian Civil Service the percentage of 33 was to be adopted for Indians, rising annually by 1½ per cent. until the matter was re-examined by a periodic commission. Finally, as we have already noticed, the salary of the Secretary of State for India was to be put on the Home estimates, and in order to ensure constant presence in Parliament of a group of members who were not only interested in India but who had made a special study of Indian polity, the House of Commons was to appoint a permanent select committee to advise on Indian affairs.

Official Action on the Reform Scheme.

Inasmuch as the Montagu-Chelmsford report had been content to enunciate certain principles which were to be worked out in detail later on, three committees were constituted for this purpose. The first two of these, known as the Franchise and the Functions Committees, were presided over by Lord Southborough and toured all over India, their work lasting from November 1918 till March 1919. The third committee was presided over by Lord Crewe and held its sittings in London at a later date.

The Franchise Committee.

The Franchise Committee's recommendations may be briefly summarised as follows. In settling the qualifications of the voters they laid down two principles, namely, a property qualification and residence within the constituency. In the case of soldiers, however, they recommended the enfranchisement of all retired and pensioned officers of the Indian Army whether of Commissioned or Non-

Commissioned rank. They did not grant the franchise to women ; to persons under 21 ; to subjects of foreign as distinct from Indian States ; and to persons of unsound mind.

The existing system of indirect election to the provincial legislative councils was to be replaced by direct election. But in the case of election to the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State, the Committee recommended indirect election. The Committee also made recommendations fixing the strength of the various provincial Legislative Councils, of the Legislative Assembly, and of the Council of State.

Dismissal from Government service, which under the existing rules had been a disqualification for membership of council, the Franchise Committee by a majority recommended should continue to disqualify candidates if it involved moral turpitude. They further recommended that the subjects of Indian States should also have the vote.

With regard to the vexed question of communal representation, the Franchise Committee recommended its retention in the case of Muhammadans, and its extension to the Sikhs in the Punjab ; the Indian Christians in Madras ; the Europeans in Bombay, Bengal, Madras, the United Provinces and Bihar and Orissa ; and the Anglo-Indians in Madras and Bengal. They did not, however, think that it should be extended to Marathas and non-Brahmins in Madras. In dealing with the qualifications of candidates, the Committee recommended the withdrawal of the Governor's right to nullify the election of a candidate as contrary to public interest ; and in the case of the provinces of Bombay, the Punjab and the Central Provinces they were in favour of a residential qualification.

Criticism.

The franchise thus recommended, however, revealed on the one hand a great disparity between the proportions which the estimated numbers of voters bore to the populations of the various provinces and on the other hand, an unequal distribution of representation between the rural and the urban populations. No uniform property qualification was fixed, and the qualifications proposed varied not only from province to province but also in some cases from area to area in the same province.

The Functions Committee.

The Functions Committee proposed two lists showing all-India subjects and provincial subjects. Among the most important subjects included in the all-India lists may be mentioned Naval, Military and Aerial matters ;

All-India Subjects.

foreign relations and relations with Indian States ; railways with certain exceptions ; communications of military importance ; posts and telegraphs ; currency and coinage ; sources of Imperial revenue ; law, civil rights, etc. ; commerce ; criminal law ; central police organisation ; scientific

and industrial research; ecclesiastical administration; and all-India services. The most important items proposed under the provincial lists were local self-government; medical administration; education; sanitation; public works, *i.e.*, provincial buildings; communications other than those of military importance; land revenue administration; agriculture; civil veterinary departments; fisheries; co-operative societies; forests; excise; administration of justice; development of industries; police; prisons and reformatories; control of newspapers and press; and provincial borrowings.

Provincial Subjects.

The provincial subjects, again, the Committee recommended should be divided into transferred and reserved subjects; and they laid down that intervention by the Central Government in transferred subjects should only be permitted to safeguard the administration of all-India subjects, and to decide questions arising between two or more provinces when the provinces could not agree among themselves. As regards legislation the Committee proposed that the provinces should be free to legislate on provincial subjects, reserved or transferred, which were not specially made subject to Indian legislation except in cases where the proposed Bills affected the powers expressly reserved to the Government of India by statute, or where they involved the amendment of certain all-India Acts or any part thereof in which case previous sanction would be required. The Committee further proposed that the Governor should, unless otherwise directed, reserve for the consideration of the Governor-General provincial Bills which :—

Transferred Subjects.

(*a*) appeared to him to affect the religion or religious rites or usages of any class of British subjects in India, or

(*b*) contained provisions regulating the constitution or functions of any University, or

(*c*) contained provisions which had the effect of including within a transferred subject, matters belonging to reserved subjects, or

(*d*) provided for the construction or management of a light or feeder railway or tramway, other than a tramway within a municipal area.

They recommended a large list of subjects to be transferred entirely to non-official control, including in the main, local self-government, medical administration, public health and sanitation, education with certain minor reservations, public works, agriculture, civil veterinary departments, co-operative societies, fisheries, forests, excise, registration of deeds and documents, registration of births and deaths, religious and charitable endowments, the development of

industries, adulteration of food-stuffs, weights and measures, and museums. Of these, the public works, fisheries, and excise were not to be transferred in Assam, and forests were to be transferred only in Bombay. The Committee also made recommendations as regards the public services and finance.

The Government of India despatches.

The Franchise and Functions Committees submitted their reports to the Government of India in March 1919. The views of the Government of India on the questions raised in the Joint Report and on the reports of the Committees were set out in certain despatches to the Secretary of State, which besides arousing a great deal of criticism in the Indian Press, were not favourably received by a section of the British Press.

On the main report itself, the Government of India in its despatch of March the 5th, 1919, recommended :—first, that in the five provinces whose heads had hitherto been chosen from the Indian Civil Service, no change should be made in this plan.

The Government of India and the Montagu-Chelmsford Report.

Secondly, where the Governor was a stranger to the country he should have two English members in his executive council and not one as previously proposed in the joint report.

In the third place, the Government of India wished to make it perfectly clear that each half of the Executive should have its own resources of revenue. Each half of the provincial Government would take all receipts accruing within its own field of administration. Each half of the Government would thus have the natural stimulus to develop its own resources. If the resources on either side happened to be insufficient for its normal expenditure, there would be an adjustment by which it would be given a subsidy from the other side. If need arose, each side would have the right to propose new taxation or the raising of a loan ; but no such proposal would be pursued unless the Governor, after formal consultation with his whole Government, was satisfied of its propriety. This system may be described as the " separate purse," in distinction to the rival idea of a common exchequer, from which each side of the Government would extract its funds at the risk of disputes, confusion and friction.

Fourthly, joint deliberations between the two halves of the Government should be left to the discretion of the Governor, association being desirable between them so far as it can be obtained without obscuring the responsibility of each half for taking its own decisions and for standing by the consequences.

Fifthly, each half of the Government should have a legislative organ in harmony with it. For this purpose the procedure by Grand

Committee in the Joint Report was, with certain modifications, approved.

Of the recommendations of the Franchise Committee, the Government of India dissented from the following :—

The Government of India and the Franchise Committee.

In the first place they did not agree to the inclusion of the subjects of Native States as electors or candidates for Councils.

Next they objected to franchise qualifications other than those based on property, and recommended that the franchise should be so varied as to result in a slight enlargement of the Punjab electorate and a considerable enlargement of the Madras electorate; that the large electorates proposed for Bengal and the United Provinces should be reduced by something like one-third; and that Assam should be reduced in a somewhat similar manner. They considered that the proposed provision for representation of depressed classes was inadequate, and did not approve of the proposed University constituencies.

In the matter of communal representation, the Government of India accepted the principle recommended by the Committee, in favour of the Muhammadans, as well as the strength of the representation proposed, except as regards Bengal, where it was thought that the representation was insufficient. In the case of the non-Brahmins the Government disagreed with the Committee in the latter's rejection of their claims. Doubts were also expressed as to the wisdom of the Franchise Committee's recommendations in the distribution of representation between urban and rural constituencies. The proposal for the elections of the members of the Legislative Assembly by the non-official members of the provincial Legislative Councils was accepted but with regret and as a temporary measure. The Government of India also suggested "direct" election for the Council of State.

The attitude of the Government of India towards the recommendations of the Functions Committee, which it mostly accepted, may be summarised as follows :—

(1) They considered that the proposals of the Committee as regards legislation were too complicated and they emphasised the need for maintaining the concurrent powers of legislation of the Indian legislature.

(2) They advised against the transfer to Ministers of University and secondary education or of Industries, and suggested that Industries should remain a provincial and reserved subject with concurrent powers to the Government of India, and suggested certain additions to the list of central subjects.

(3) They considered that provision should be made for re-transfer of a transferred subject in case of insoluble difficulties arising between the Ministers and the Governor.

(4) They generally concurred in the proposals relating to the services.

The publication of these despatches, as has been noticed elsewhere, gave rise to protests both from those who considered that the scheme of the joint report did not go far enough and from those who feared that this scheme would be modified in a direction adverse to Indian aspirations. The minutes of dissent which were appended by Sir Sankaran Nair, the Indian Member of the Viceroy's Council, were widely applauded by those who considered that the Government of India had whittled down a scheme which was in itself inadequate, for their condemnation of the restrictions and safeguards which appeared essential to his English colleagues. We have already seen that at the beginning of the year all political parties in India had sent their deputations to England to press their views through the newspapers and public platforms on the British public.

The more important of these deputations were those which had gone on behalf of the Moderate party and of the Congress. Each of these in representing its case pressed the policy which had been indicated on the first publication of the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme. The Moderates, while accepting the general principles of the Bill merely tried to secure by way of improvement certain "liberalising" amendments in it.

Deputations.

The Extremists, on the other hand, pressed for changes which went to the very root of the Bill and aimed at transforming, not amending it. One point on which nearly all the Indian deputations were agreed was the desirability of the introduction of some element of dyarchy in the Government of India itself. But apart from this, the deputations hardly showed much unanimity.

To give effect to the scheme of constitutional reforms a Bill was presented in the House of Commons early in July by the Secretary of State for India outlining the main features of the changes contemplated, but leaving the changes themselves to be worked out in detail in the form of rules. It must be remembered that an Act had been passed in 1915 bringing the law bearing on the constitution in India up to date; and therefore one peculiarity about the new Bill was that instead of reciting substantive clauses it contained amendments, modifications and alterations intended to be incorporated in the Consolidation Act of 1915. The Bill was referred to a Joint Select Committee of both Houses, presided over by Lord Selbourne, which was appointed to consider it in the light of the criticisms and suggestions received after the publication of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform. The Joint

Committee examined nearly 70 witnesses, of all shades of opinion and finally introduced in the Bill some very important modifications which were afterwards incorporated into the Act of December 1919. The Committee's views were accepted by Parliament and the Report as finally presented deserves to rank as a constitutional document of first-rate importance.

The Joint Select Committee.

The members of the Joint Select Committee considered it an essential feature of the policy of His Majesty's Government that except in so far as the Secretary of State should be relieved from responsibility by the changes proposed in the Bill he should remain responsible to Parliament. They accepted the plan proposed by the Bill as the best way of giving effect to the declared policy of His Majesty's Government as contained in the announcement of the 20th August 1917. They recommended that the new ministers should have the fullest opportunity of managing the field of Government entrusted to their care; and with this end in view free consultation was advocated between the two halves of the Government—that is—the Executive Council and the Ministers. On the question of finance the Committee gave much attention to the principle on which the provincial revenues and balances should be distributed between the two sides of the provincial governments. They felt confident that the problem could be readily solved by the simple process of common sense and reasonable give-and-take, but they apprehended that it might, in certain circumstances, become the cause of much friction in the provincial government, and they were of opinion that the rules governing the allocation of these revenues and balances should be so framed as to make the existence of such friction impossible. They therefore advised that if the Governor, in the course of preparing either his first or subsequent budget, found that there was likely to be a serious or protracted difference of opinion between the executive council and his ministers on this subject, he should be empowered at once to make an allocation of revenue and balances between the reserved and transferred subjects, which should continue for at least the whole life of the existing legislative council. The Committee did not endorse the suggestion that certain sources of revenue should be allocated to reserved, and certain sources to transferred subjects, but they recommended that the Governor should allocate a definite proportion of the revenue, and similarly a proportion, though not necessarily the same fraction, of the balances. If the Governor desired assistance in making the allocation, he should be allowed at his discretion to refer the question to be decided to such authority as the Governor-General should appoint. Further, the Committee were of opinion that it should be laid down from the first that, until an agreement which both sides of the Government would equally

support had been reached, or until an allocation had been made by the Governor, the total provisions of the different expenditure heads in the budget of the province for the preceding financial year should hold good.

The Joint Committee approved generally of the proposals of the Southborough Committee, but thought that the detailed arrangements would require re-consideration in certain respects, more particularly as regards the disparity in the size of the electorates, the distribution of seats between urban and rural areas, the representation of landlords and the depressed classes, non-Brahmins and Mahrattas, and of Europeans in Bengal.

The Committee rejected the plan of the Grand Committee as drafted originally in the Bill, because they considered that it did not give the Governor the power of securing legislation in a crisis in respect of those matters for which he is held responsible, and because in respect of ordinary legislation it perpetuated the system of the " official bloc," which has been the cause of great friction and heart-burning. The Committee considered it much better that there should be no attempt to conceal the fact that the responsibility was with the Governor in Council, and they recommended a process by which the Governor should be empowered to pass an Act necessary for the proper fulfilment of his responsibility to Parliament. If he failed to get it through his legislative council, he should have the power to proceed on his own responsibility ; but Acts passed on his own responsibility should be reserved by the Governor-General for His Majesty's pleasure and be laid before Parliament. The responsibility for the advice of His Majesty, the Committee thought, would no doubt rest with the Secretary of State ; and they considered that the standing committee of Parliament, the establishment of which on an advisory and consultative basis they recommended, should be specially consulted about Acts of this character. In case of emergency, however, the Governor-General should have the power to give his assent to the Act without reserving it. But this course would not prevent subsequent disallowance by His Majesty in Council.

The Joint Committee further proposed that the Council of State should be reconstituted from the commencement as a true second Chamber, and they rejected the plan of the Franchise Committee for the election of the Legislative Assembly by the non-official members of the provincial Councils, and endorsed the views expressed by the Government of India in paragraph 39 of their 5th despatch.

Crewe Committee.

Equally important were the proposals of the Joint Committee regarding the relations between the Home and the Indian Governments, and between the Secretary of State and his Council. These relations had been

investigated by the Committee presided over by Lord Crewe, whose report was available to the Joint Committee.

Lord Crewe's Committee had recommended—

(1) " that whenever legislation has the support of majority of the non-official members of the Legislative Assembly, assent should be refused only in cases in which the Secretary of State feels that his responsibility to Parliament for the peace, order and good government of India, or paramount considerations of Imperial policy, require him to secure reconsideration of the matter at issue by the Legislative Assembly."

(2) " that where for any reason reference to the Secretary of State is considered necessary, a joint decision of the Government of India and a majority of the non-official members of the Assembly, reached by discussion of a resolution, should be given the same degree of authority as similar decisions on legislative proposals."

(3) that " the basis of delegation " should be " that without prejudice to the further relaxation of control by the Secretary of State, the principle of previous consultation between the Secretary of State and the Government of India should be substituted in all cases where the previous sanction of the Secretary of State in Council has hitherto been required ; but the Secretary of State should from time to time revise the list of subjects on which he requires such previous consultation, and inform the Government of India accordingly."

It was also recommended that the powers and authority now vested in the Secretary of State for India in Council should be transferred to the Secretary of State, who should be assisted by an Advisory Committee, to which he might refer such matters as he thought fit. The Advisory Committee should consist of not more than twelve and not fewer than six members to be appointed by the Secretary of State ; one-third of the members being persons domiciled in India, selected from the panel of names submitted by the non-officials of the Indian Legislative Council. The salary of the members should be raised to £1,200 a year ; Indian members to be given in addition a subsistence allowance of £600 per annum. The present Secretary of State's Council would thus be abolished and its place taken by the proposed Advisory Committee. Lord Crewe's Committee also recommended the appointment of a High Commissioner for India corresponding to the High Commissioners of the self-governing dominions, who should exercise agency functions on behalf of India in London. The Committee did not favour the proposed interchange of appointments

between members of the India Office and the Indian services. Nor did they recommend the establishment of a Select Committee of the House of Commons for Indian affairs. The Committee recommended that the charges on account of political and administrative work of the India Office should be placed on the British estimates, those on account of agency work, pure and simple, being defrayed from Indian revenues.

In dealing with the recommendations of the Crewe Committee, the Joint Committee accepted the salary and the conditions of tenure proposed for members of the Council of Secretary of State; but rejected the proposed method of their appointments and the substitution of an advisory body for the Council of India as at present constituted. The Joint Committee did not object to a readjustment of the work designed to introduce the portfolio system among the members of the Secretary of State's Council, and strongly emphasised the necessity of increasing the Indian element in it. The Joint Committee further accepted the suggested financial adjustment between the Indian revenues and British estimates as well as the appointment of a High Commissioner for India.

As regards the relations of the Secretary of State with the Governor-General in Council, the Committee were not of opinion that any statutory change could be made, so long as the Governor-General remained responsible to Parliament, but in practice they considered that the conventions governing these relations might wisely be modified to meet fresh circumstances. In the exercise of his responsibility to Parliament, the Secretary of State might reasonably consider that only in exceptional circumstances should he be called upon to intervene in matters of purely Indian interest where the Government and the Legislature of India were in agreement.

The relations of the Secretary of State and of the Government of India with provincial governments should, the Committee felt, be regulated by similar principles, so far as the reserved subjects were concerned. It followed, therefore, that in purely provincial matters, which were reserved, where the provincial government and legislature were in agreement, their view should ordinarily be allowed to prevail, though it was necessary to bear in mind the fact that some reserved subjects covered matters in which the central government was closely concerned. Over transferred subjects, on the other hand, the control of the Governor-General in Council, and thus of the Secretary of State, should be restricted within the narrowest possible limits, which would be defined by rules under sub-clause 3 of Clause 1 of the Bill.

The Joint Committee recommended the appointment of three Indians to the Viceroy's Executive Council. It further recommended that with a view to removing the belief that India's fiscal policy was

dictated from Whitehall in the interests of the trade of Great Britain a convention should be instituted by which the Secretary of State was to refrain from interfering with fiscal measures upon which the Indian legislatures and executive were in agreement, and his intervention, the Joint Committee advised " should be limited to safeguarding the international obligations of the Empire or any fiscal arrangements within the Empire to which His Majesty's Government is a party."

In the next place, the Committee recommended that the Statutory Commission to consider the advisability of further advance be appointed at the expiration of ten years and that no changes of substance should be made in the interval.

The Joint Committee also considered that the President of the Legislative Assembly should be a person appointed by the Governor General and qualified by experience in the House of Commons and they thought it would be a great advantage if persons could be found for the posts of Presidents of the provincial councils who had Parliamentary experience. The vice-Presidents of the Legislative Assembly as well as the provincial councils from the beginning and the President after the expiry of four years should be elected. The Joint Committee also recommended that the Indian Budget be voted upon in the Legislative Assembly, subject to necessary safeguards. They considered the enactment of a Corrupt Practices Act essential before the first elections to the various legislative bodies. Finally the Committee recommended the adoption by the Government of India of a machinery to make their views known more expeditiously and in a more business-like mannner to the people in order to avoid mischief which is not infrequently done by uninformed criticism in the absence of more accurate information from the Government itself. The report of the Committee, when complete, was presented to Parliament, and after the suggested modifications had been made, the Bill was finally passed into law in December 1919. It is necessary to examine in some detail the provisions of this historic act, perhaps the most important in the whole history of the relations between India and the Parliament of Great Britain.

The Government of India Act.

The preamble plainly describes the pivot on which the machinery of constitutional progress turns. It ratifies the declared policy of Parliament for the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to progressive realization of responsible government in British India as an integral part of the Empire. It endorses the necessity for the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration, and for the grant to the provinces of the largest measure of independence of the Government of India compatible with the due discharge by the latter of its own responsibilities. The preamble

also emphasises that progress can only be achieved by successive stages and that Parliament alone must be the judge of the time and manner of each advance, in determining which, it will be influenced by the co-operation received from those on whom new opportunities of service are conferred and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility. The first part of the act deals with Local Governments. It provides for the distribution of subjects and functions between the Local Government and local legislatures, and the Governor-General in Council and the Indian legislature, together with the devolution of necessary authority. It also provides for the division of provincial subjects into "reserved" and "transferred," for the creation of ministers to take over the transferred subjects and for the rules necessary for a proper conduct of affairs. Government by a Governor in Council is to be established in Bengal, Bombay, Madras, United Provinces, Punjab, Bihar and Orissa, Central Provinces and Assam. The rules for the appointment of Governors now in force shall continue except that the Governors of the five last named provinces shall be appointed after consultation with the Governor-General. The Governor in these provinces shall be assisted by an Executive Council which shall be in charge of the reserved subjects and ministers chosen from the non-official elected members of the Legislative Councils who shall be in charge of the transferred subjects. Provision is also made for the appointment at the discretion of the Governor of non-official members of the local Legislative Councils as secretaries, who are to hold office during the Governor's pleasure and to discharge such duties in assisting members of the Executive Council and ministers as may be assigned to them. As regards the Executive Council, provision is made that one of the members of the Executive Council of the Governor of a province must have been for at least twelve years in the service of the Crown in India. As regards the Governor's Legislative Council it is to consist of the members of the Executive Council, the members nominated or elected as provided by rules under the Act and the strength of each Council is fixed in a schedule attached to the Act. Every Governor's Legislative Council is to continue for three years from its first meeting subject to certain reservations. The Governor shall not be a President of the Legislative Council although he shall be able when necessary to address the Council. The President shall be appointed for a period of four years by the Governor. The Deputy President shall be elected from the very beginning and so shall be every subsequent President. The estimated annual

Part I, Local Governments.

Division of Functions.

Provincial Councils.

Executive Councils.

Legislative Councils.

expenditure and revenue of the provinces shall be laid in the form of a statement before the Council in each year and the proposals of the Local Governments, except as regards a few specified heads, for the appropriation of moneys are to be submitted to the vote of the Council in the form of demands for grants. The Local Government, however, is empowered to act in relation to a demand which concerns a reserved subject, as if it had been assented to, if the expenditure in question is necessary for the discharge of its responsibilities.

Where a Bill has been passed by a local Legislative Council the head of the province may, if he considers it desirable to assent to it, do so or if he wishes to withhold his assent he may return the Bill to the Council for reconsideration either in whole or in part together with any amendment which he may recommend. Or he may, under the rules to be framed, reserve the Bill for the consideration of the Governor-General.

Emergency Powers of Governors.

Where a Governor's Legislative Council has refused leave to introduce or has failed to pass in a form recommended by the Governor, any Bill dealing with a reserved subject the Governor may certify that the passage of the Bill is essential for the discharge of his responsibility for the subject and thereupon the Bill shall on signature by the Governor become an Act of the local legislature. The Governor shall thereupon forthwith send an authentic copy of such enactment to the Governor-General who shall reserve the Act for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure and upon the signification of such assent by His Majesty in Council and the notification thereof by the Governor this Act shall have the same force and effect as an Act passed by the local legislature and duly assented to. Further every such Act shall be laid before Parliament and shall not be presented for His Majesty's assent until it has been laid before Parliament for eight days.

Another provision in the Act guards against litigation by providing as follows :—

> 16 (2) Nothing in this Act, or in any rule made thereunder, shall be construed as diminishing in any respect the powers of the Indian Legislature, as laid down in section 65 of the principal Act, and the validity of any Act of the Indian Legislature or any local legislature, shall not be open to question in any legal proceedings on the ground that the Act affects a provincial subject or a central subject, as the case may be, and the validity of any Act made by the Governor of a province shall not be so open to question on the ground that it does not relate to a reserved subject.

(3) The validity of any order made or action taken by a Governor in Council, or by a Governor acting with his Ministers, shall not be open to question in any legal proceedings, on the ground that such order or action relates or does not relate to a transferred subject, or relates to a transferred subject, of which the Minister is not in charge.

Part II, Government of India.

Part II deals with the Government of India and the bicameral system sanctioned for the Indian legislature, that is to say a Legislative Assembly and Council of State. The constitution of the Council of State is yet to be worked out by the Government of India. The Act fixes its strength and the maximum number of official members. As regards the Legislative Council the Act has fixed the strength and proportion to be observed between official and non-official members but the composition of the Assembly will be determined by rules to be made under the Act. The Legislative Assembly shall also have a President who shall be appointed by the Governor General for a period of four years. The Vice-President of the Legislative Assembly from the very beginning and the President after the term of the appointed President shall be elected. The Council of State is to continue for five years and a Legislative Assembly for three years. Elections to these bodies will be determined by the rules which will be framed under the Act and these rules will also govern the conduct of business in the Legislative Assembly or the Council of State. The Indian budget is also to be voted upon by the Council but the Governor-General shall have power, in case of emergency, to authorise expenditure even where it has not been sanctioned by the Legislative Assembly. The proposals of the Government of India for the appropriation of revenue or moneys relating to certain heads however are exempt from the vote of the Legislative Assembly and the Governor-General is empowered to act with regard to any demand which has been refused by the Legislative Assembly and which is essential to the discharge of his responsibilities as if it had been assented to notwithstanding the withholding of such assent.

The Legislative Assembly.

The Budget.

The Emergency Powers of the Governor-General.

Where either chamber of the Indian Legislature refuses leave to introduce, or fails to pass in the form recommended by the Governor, any Bill, the Governor-General shall, *mutatis mutandis*, follow the provisions that have already been hereinbefore described in relation to similar contingencies arising in the provincial legislative councils. Analogous to the powers given to the Governor to appoint Council secretaries the Governor-General is also empowered to appoint similar officials from among the members of the Legislative Assembly.

Part III deals with the Secretary of State in Council. The salary of the Secretary of State and his establishment is transferred from the Indian revenues to the moneys provided by Parliament. The Council of India is to continue; only, instead of 14 and 10 the maximum and minimum shall now be 12 and 8. One half the members must have served or resided in India for not less than ten years and must not have left British India for more than five years. The appointment shall be for a period of five years. The salary of a member is now fixed at £1,200 per annum with a subsistence allowance of £600 per annum to members of Indian domicile. Provision is also made for altering the procedure of business in the Council of State and for the relaxation of the control hitherto exercised by the Secretary of State over the Government of India. Section 35 empowers the appointment of a High Commissioner for India to be selected in the United Kingdom whose pay, pension, powers, duties and conditions of employment are to be settled hereafter.

Part III, Secretary of State and his Council.

The Council of India.

Part IV deals with the civil services of India. Every person in the civil service of the Crown in India holds office during His Majesty's pleasure and he may be employed in any manner required by proper authority within the scope of his duty, but he cannot be dismissed by any authority subordinate to that by which he was appointed. An aggrieved officer who has been appointed by the Secretary of State in Council also has the right to complain to the Governor without prejudice to any other right of redress. The Secretary of State in Council is also authorised to regulate by rules the classification of the civil services, the methods of their recruitment and the conditions of service. A Public Service Commission consisting of five members is to be appointed for a period of five years to discharge in regard to recruitment and control of the public services in India such functions as may be assigned to them by rules to be made by the Secretary of State in Council. With regard to the appointments which have hitherto been considered as exclusively tenable by members of the Indian Civil Service under section 98 of the Government of India Act of 1915, Under Secretaryships in all departments have been removed from this category and the schedule has been slightly further modified.

Part IV, Services.

The Education and Foreign and Political Departments have been taken out from the list of the departments in which the offices of secretary, joint secretary, and deputy secretary were reserved for members of the Indian Civil Service and in the Legislative Department either the Secretary or the Deputy Secretary may be a non-civilian. Only three Accountants General will now be taken from the civil service.

Part V, Statutory Commission.

Part V provides for a statutory commission at the expiration of ten years after the passing of this Act, with the concurrence of both Houses of Parliament, for the purpose of enquiring into the working of the system of Government and other conditions in order to consider whether a further advance can be made towards responsible government. The commission is to be at liberty to enquire into such other matters affecting British India and the provinces as may be referred to it.

Part VI, Miscellaneous.

Part VI deals with miscellaneous matters such as the signification of the Royal Assent which is to be through the Secretary of State in Council, the definition of " official " and "non-official " and certain other matters.

This Act received the Royal Assent on December 23rd. At the same moment His Majesty was pleased to issue a proclamation in which, after tracing the history of the legislation for the better Government of India he went on to express his confident hope that if the policy " which this Act inaugurated should achieve its purpose, the results will be momentous in the story of human progress " and to add " it is timely and fitting that I should invite you to-day to consider the past and to join me in my hopes of the future." The proclamation went on to recapitulate how, ever since the welfare of India had been confided to the Royal House in England it had been held as a sacred trust, how sovereign after sovereign had renewed pledges and promises in this behalf. The proclamation paid a fitting tribute to Parliament and people of the realm and His Majesty's officers in India for the services they had rendered and the zeal they had shown in the advancement of the country. His Majesty testified to " the understanding and sympathy " with which he had watched " the growing desire of my Indian people for representative institutions " and remarked how " the desire after political responsibility " had " its source at the roots of the British connection with India. It has sprung inevitably from the deeper and wider studies of human thought and history, which that connection has opened to the Indian people. Without it the work of the British in India would have been incomplete. It was therefore with a wise judgment that the beginnings of representative institutions were laid many years ago. This scope has been extended stage by stage until there now lies before us a definite step on the road to responsible Government."

His Majesty promised to watch the progress along this road " with the same sympathy and with redoubled interest " ; and in pointing out the difficulties that had to be faced before the goal could be reached His Majesty observed " I rely on the leaders of the people, the ministers of the future, to face responsibility and endure to sacrifice much for the common interest of the State, remembering that true patriotism

transcends party and communal boundaries; and while retaining the confidence of the legislatures, to co-operate with my officers for the common good in sinking unessential differences and in maintaining the essential standards of a just and generous Government. Equally do I rely on my officers to respect their new colleagues and to work with them in harmony and kindliness; to assist the people and their representatives in an orderly advance towards free institutions; and to find in these new tasks a fresh opportunity to fulfil as in the past their highest purpose of faithful service to my people." His Majesty went on to express "an earnest desire at this time that so far as possible any trace of bitterness between my people and those who are responsible for my Government should be obliterated" and in fulfilment of the desire thus expressed His Majesty granted an amnesty to political prisoners and to persons who were convicted for offences against the State or who had restrictions placed upon their liberty under any special or emergency legislation. The proclamation proceeded to announce the establishment of a Chamber of Princes and the forthcoming visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to India. "And with all my people," His Majesty observed, "I pray to Almighty God that by his wisdom and under his guidance India may be led to greater prosperity and contentment and may grow to the fulness of political freedom."

Reforms and Indian States.

Indian States do not form part of British India, but in view of the fact that they cannot remain unaffected by constitutional changes in India it will not be out of place to mention certain recent developments. In Baroda, Bikanir, Mysore and Travancore, Representative Assemblies have already been established; in Kapurthala a State Assembly, which has particularly an elective basis, was instituted in 1917; an Advisory Council has been formed in Nawanagar, while reforms on somewhat similar lines are under contemplation in Dewas (Junior Branch), Nabha and Patiala. His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad has recently established an executive council and announced that the introduction of further important constitutional changes was under consideration. A Chamber of Princes will shortly be constituted, of which His Majesty the King was pleased to observe in his proclamation the other day, "I trust that its councils may be fruitful of lasting good to the Princes and States themselves, may advance the interests which are common to their territories and British India, and may be to the advantage of the Empire as a whole." It may further be pointed out that under the Act of 1915, subjects of Native States were placed in a position of equality with Indian students for the competitive examination held in London for recruitment to the Indian Civil Service.

The year 1919 which had witnessed the dawn of victory terminated with the promise of an unparalleled era of constitutional progress for India. In England, the war had effected profound changes in many directions and in India the Government of India Act is opening up a chapter which far surpasses any constitutional experiment that has been attempted in the East. Indeed the theory, so fondly cherished in some quarters, that India had nothing to gain in the way of self-government from a so-called alien rule stands irretrievably exploded. And the message of hope contained in His Majesty's proclamation not only constitutes a fitting culmination to the settlement of constitutional controversies but has been acclaimed as a new charter of India's rights and liberties, surpassing all its predecessors in its magnanimity, in its breadth of view and in the claims it has established on India's loyalty, affection and attachment to the British throne.

The proclamation has strengthened the hands of the Moderates who have all along supported the reforms enabling them on the strength of this gracious message to commend the reforms wholeheartedly to the country, inspiring them both to overlook the fact that they had not gained all that they had agitated for and also to appeal for co-operation from all communities in order to make the Act a success. On the Extremists, it is true, the effect was less marked. The Congress did indeed adjourn day after day to reconsider its attitude towards the reforms which it had originally characterised as a fraud and a sham, and efforts were made to secure an appropriate response to the spirit of the proclamation. Such efforts did not succeed, but the attitude the Congress had to adopt was modified and evidence is not lacking to show that the august proclamation has tended to alter the original indifference with which the Extremists regarded reforms.

APPENDIX I.

Sources.

LIST OF INDIAN OFFICIAL REPORTS, ETC.

.. (Mostly Annual.)

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Administration Reports: Madras, Bombay, United Provinces, Punjab, Bengal, Central Provinces and Berar, Burma, Bihar and Orissa, Assam, North-West Frontier Province, Delhi, Coorg, Andaman and Nicobar Island, Civil and Military Station of Bangalore, Ajmer-Merwara, Baluchistan Agency.

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Separate Revenue (Salt, Excise, etc.)

Salt Department Reports: Northern India, Madras, Bombay, Sind, Bengal, Burma, Bihar and Orissa.

Excise Report for each Province.

Report on the Operations of the Opium Department.

Stamp Department Report for each Province.

Registration Department Report for each Province.

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Report on Production of Tea in India.

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Statements showing Progress of the Co-operative Movement in India.

Reports on Co-operative Societies for each Province.

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Reports of the Forest Research Institute and the Imperial Forest College, Dehra Dun.

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Report on Production and Consumption of Coal in India.

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Annual Statements of Sea-borne Trade and Navigation, India and Provincial (Madras, Bombay, Sind, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Burma).

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Indian Trade Journal (weekly).

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Report on the working of the Indian Companies Act for each Province.

Report on the working of the Indian Factories Act for each Province.

Report of the Chief Inspector of Explosives.

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Reports on Public Works (Buildings and Roads) for Madras, Bombay, Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, and Burma.

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Reports on Municipalities for each Province and for Calcutta, Bombay City, Madras City, and Rangoon.

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Report on Sanitary Measures in India (Parliamentary Paper).
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Variations in Indian Price Levels.
Reports of Provincial Wage Censuses.

APPENDIX II.

Act No. XI of 1919.

[PASSED BY THE INDIAN LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.]

(Received the assent of the Governor-General on the 21st March 1919.)

AN ACT TO COPE WITH ANARCHICAL AND REVOLUTIONARY CRIME.

WHEREAS it is expedient to make provision that the ordinary criminal law should be supplemented and emergency powers should be exercisable by the Government for the purpose of dealing with anarchical and revolutionary movements ;

And whereas the previous approval of the Secretary of State in Council has been accorded to the making of this law ; It is hereby enacted as follows :—

Short title, extent and duration.

1. (*1*) This Act may be called the Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act, 1919 ;

(*2*) It extends to the whole of British India ; and

(*3*) It shall continue in force for three years from the date of the termination of the present war.

Definitions.
V of 1898.

2. (*1*) In this Act, unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context,—

" Chief Justice " means the Judge of highest rank in a High Court ;

" The Code " means the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898 ;

" High Court " means the highest Court of criminal appeal or revision for any local area ;

" Scheduled offence " means any offence specified in the Schedule.

(*2*) All words and expressions used in this Act and defined in the Code, and not hereinbefore defined shall be deemed to have the meanings respectively attributed to them in the Code.

PART I.

Condition of application of Part I.

3. If the Governor-General in Council is satisfied that, in the whole or any part of British India, anarchical or revolutionary movements are being promoted, and that scheduled offences in connection with such movements are prevalent to such an extent that it is expedient in the interests of the public safety to provide for the speedy trial of such offences, he may, by notification in the Gazette of India, make a declaration to that effect, and thereupon the provisions of this Part shall come into force in the area specified in the notification.

Initiation of proceedings.

4. (*1*) Where the Local Government is of opinion that the trial of any person accused of a scheduled offence should be held in accordance with the provisions of this Part, it may order any officer of Government to prefer a written information to the Chief Justice against such person.

(2) No order under sub-section (1) shall be made in respect of, or be deemed to include, any person who has been committed under the Code for trial before a High Court or a Court of Session, but save as aforesaid, an order under that sub-section may be made in respect of any scheduled offence whether such offence was committed before or after the issue of the notification under section 3.

(3) The information shall state the offence charged and so far as known the name, place of residence, and occupation of the accused, and the time and place when and where the offence is alleged to have been committed and all particulars within the knowledge of the prosecution of what is intended to be proved against the accused.

(4) The Chief Justice may by order require any information to be amended so as to supply further particulars of the offence charged to the accused, and shall direct a copy of the information or the amended information, as the case may be, to be served upon the accused in such manner as the Chief Justice may direct.

Constitution of Court.

5. Upon such service being effected, and on application duly made to him, the Chief Justice shall nominate three of the High Court Judges (hereinafter referred to as the Court) for the trial of the information, and shall fix a date for the commencement of the trial:

Provided that when the total number of Judges of the High Court does not exceed three, the Chief Justice shall nominate not more than two such Judges, and shall complete the Court by the nomination of one or, if necessary, two persons of either of the following classes, namely:—

(a) persons who have served as permanent Judges of the High Court; or

(b) with the consent of the Chief Justice of another High Court, persons who are Judges of that High Court.

Place of sitting.

6. The Court may sit for the whole or any part of a trial at such place or places in the province as it may consider desirable:

Provided that if the Advocate-General certifies to the Court that it is in his opinion necessary in the interests of justice that the whole or any part of a trial shall be held at some place other than the usual place of sitting of the High Court, the Court shall, after hearing the accused, make an order to that effect, unless for reasons to be recorded in writing it thinks fit to make any other order. It shall not be necessary for the certificate of the Advocate-General to be supported by any affidavit, nor shall he be required to state the grounds upon which such certificate was given.

Application of Code of Criminal Procedure subject to this Part.

7. The provisions of the Code shall apply to proceedings under this Part, in so far as the said provisions are not inconsistent with the provisions of this Part, and such proceedings shall be deemed to be proceedings under the Code, and the Court shall have all the powers conferred by the Code on a Court of Session exercising original jurisdiction.

Trial.

8. (1) The trial shall be commenced by the reading of the information, and thereafter the prosecutor shall state shortly by what evidence he expects to prove the guilt of the accused.

(2) The Court shall then, subject to the provisions of this Part, in trying the accused, follow the procedure prescribed by the Code for the trial of warrant cases by Magistrates.

Adjournment.

9. If a charge is framed, the accused shall be entitled to ask for an adjournment for fourteen days, or any less period that he may specify, and the Court shall comply with his request, but, subject to the adjournment provided for by this section, the Court shall not

be bound to adjourn any trial for any purpose, unless such adjournment is in its opinion necessary in the interests of justice.

Record of evidence.

10. The Court shall cause the evidence of each witness who is examined to be recorded in full in such manner as the Court may direct.

Prohibition or restriction of publication of reports of trial.

11. The Court, if it is of opinion that such a course is necessary in the public interest or for the protection of a witness, may prohibit or restrict in such way as it may direct the publication or disclosure of its proceedings or any part of its proceedings.

Examination of accused.

12. (*1*) No questions shall be put by the Court to the accused in the course of a trial under this Part until the close of the case for the prosecution. Thereafter, and before the accused enters on his defence, the Court shall inform the accused that he is entitled, if he so desires, to give evidence on oath on his own behalf, and shall at the same time inform him that if he does so he will be liable to cross-examination. Unless the accused then states that he desires to give evidence on oath, the Court may at any time thereafter question the accused generally on the case in accordance with the provisions of section 342 of the Code.

(*2*) If, when so called upon, the accused states that he desires to give evidence on oath, the Court shall not at any subsequent stage put any question to him :

Provided that if the accused does not so give evidence, then, after the witnesses for the defence have been examined, the Court may question the accused generally on the case in accordance with the provisions of the said section.

(*3*) The failure of the accused to give evidence on oath shall not be made the subject of any comment by the prosecution, nor shall the Court draw any inference adverse to the accused from such failure.

(*4*) If the accused gives evidence on oath, the following rules shall be observed, namely :—

(*a*) He may be asked any question in cross-examination notwithstanding that it would tend to criminate him as to the offence charged.

(*b*) He shall not be asked, and if asked shall not be required to answer, any question tending to show that he has committed or been convicted of, or has been charged with, any offence other than that with which he is then charged, or has a bad character, unless—

(*i*) proof that he has committed or been convicted of such other offence is admissible evidence to show that he is guilty of the offence with which he is then charged, or

(*ii*) witnesses for the prosecution have been cross-examined with a view to establish his own good character, or he has given evidence of his good character or the nature or the conduct of the defence is such as to involve imputations on the character of the witnesses for the prosecution, or

(*iii*) he has given evidence against any other person charged with the same offence.

(*c*) Unless otherwise ordered by the Court, he shall give his evidence from the witness-box or other place from which the other witnesses give their evidence.

Right of reply.

13. If the accused or any one of the accused calls and examines any witness, the right of final reply shall lie with the prosecution, but in all other cases with the accused :

Provided that the examination of an accused as a witness shall not of itself confer the right of final reply on the prosecution.

Differences of opinion.

14. In the event of any difference of opinion among the members of the Court, the opinion of the majority shall prevail.

Accused may be convicted of any offence referred to in Schedule.

15. At any trial under this Part the accused may be charged with and convicted of any offence against any provision of the law which is referred to in the Schedule.

Sentence.

16. The Court may pass upon any person convicted by it any sentence authorised by law for the punishment of the offence of which such person is convicted, and no order of confirmation shall be necessary in the case of any sentence passed by it:

Provided that a sentence of death shall not be passed upon any accused person in respect of whose guilt there is a difference of opinion among the members of the Court.

Exclusion of interference of other criminal Courts.

17. The judgment of the Court shall be final and conclusive and, notwithstanding the provisions of the Code or of any other law for the time being in force, or of any thing having the force of law by whatsoever authority made or done, there shall be no appeal from any order or sentence of the Court, and no High Court shall have authority to revise any such order or sentence or to transfer any case from such Court, or to make any order under section 491 of the Code or have any jurisdiction of any kind in respect of any proceedings under this Part:

Provided that nothing in this section shall be deemed to affect the powers of the Governor General in Council or of the Local Government to make orders under section 401 or section 402 of the Code in respect of any person sentenced by the Court.

Special rules of evidence. I of 1872.

18. (*1*) Notwithstanding anything to the contrary contained in the Indian Evidence Act, 1872, where—

(*a*) the statement of any person has been recorded by a Magistrate, and such statement has been read over and explained to the person making it and has been signed by him, or

(*b*) the statement of any person has been recorded by the Court, but such person has not been cross-examined,

such statement may be admitted in evidence by the Court if the person making the same is dead or cannot be found or is incapable of giving evidence, and it is established to the satisfaction of the Court that such death, disappearance or incapacity has been caused in the interests of the accused.

(*2*) Depositions recorded under section 512 of the Code may, in the circumstances specified in that section, be given in evidence at the trial of an accused under this Part.

Re-call of witnesses on reconstitution of Court.

19. In case of any reconstitution of the Court during the trial, the Court so reconstituted, shall if the accused so desires, re-call and re-hear any witness who has already given evidence in the case.

Power to make rules.

20. The Chief Justice may from time to time make rules providing for—

(1) the appointment and powers of a President of the Court, and the procedure to be adopted to complete the Court in the event of any Judge of the Court being prevented from attending throughout the trial of an accused; and

(2) any matters (including the intermediate custody of the accused and his release on bail) which appear to him necessary for carrying into effect or supplementing the provisions of this Part preliminary or ancillary to trials.

PART II.

Condition of application of Part II.

21. If the Governor-General in Council is satisfied that anarchical or revolutionary movements which are, in his opinion, likely to lead to the commission of scheduled offences are being extensively promoted in the whole or any part of British India, he may, by notification in the Gazette of India, make a declaration to that effect, and thereupon the provisions of this Part shall come into force in the area specified in the notification.

Powers exercisable when Part II is in force.

22. (*1*) Where, in the opinion of the Local Government, there are reasonable grounds for believing that any person is or has been actively concerned in such area in any movement of the nature referred to in section 21, the Local Government may place all the materials in its possession relating to his case before a judicial officer who is qualified for appointment to a High Court and take his opinion thereon. If, after considering such opinion, the Local Government is satisfied that action under the provisions of this section is necessary, it may by order in writing containing a declaration to the effect that such person is or has been actively concerned in such area in any movement of the nature referred to in section 21 give all or any of the following directions, namely: that such person—

(*a*) shall, within such period as may be specified in the order, execute a bond with or without sureties undertaking, for such period not exceeding one year as may be so specified, that he will not commit, or attempt or conspire to commit, or abet the commitment of, any offence against any provision of the law which is referred to in the schedule;

(*b*) shall notify his residence and any change of residence to such authority as may be so specified;

(*c*) shall remain or reside in any area in British India so specified:

Provided that, if the area so specified is outside the province, the concurrence of the Local Government of that area to the making of the order shall first have been obtained;

(*d*) shall abstain from any act so specified which, in the opinion of the Local Government, is calculated to disturb the public peace or is prejudicial to the public safety; and

(*e*) shall report himself to the officer in charge of the police-station nearest to his residence at such periods as may be so specified.

(*2*) Any order under clauses (*b*) to (*e*) of sub-section (*1*) may also be made to take effect upon default by the person concerned in complying with an order under clause (*a*) of that sub-section.

Service of orders under section 22.

23. An order made under section 22 shall be served on the person in respect of whom it is made in the manner provided in the Code for service of summons, and upon such service such person shall be deemed to have due notice thereof.

Enforcement of orders.

24. The Local Government and every officer of Government to whom a copy of any order made under section 22 may be directed by, or under the general or special authority of, the Local Government, may use all means reasonably necessary to enforce compliance with the same.

Interim nature of order made by Local Government.

25. An order made under section 22 shall only continue in force for a period of one month, unless it is extended by the Local Government as hereinafter provided in this Part.

Reference to investigating authority.

26. (*1*) When the Local Government makes an order under section 22, such Government shall, as soon as may be, forward to the investigating authority to be constituted under this Act a concise statement in writing setting forth plainly the grounds on which the Government considered it necessary that the order should be made, and shall lay before the investigating authority all material facts and circumstances in its possession relevant to the inquiry.

(*2*) The investigating authority shall then hold an inquiry *in camera* for the purpose of ascertaining what, in its opinion, having regard to the fact and circumstances adduced by the Government, appears against the person in respect of whom the order has been made. Such authority shall in every case allow the person in question a reasonable opportunity of appearing before it at some stage in its proceedings and shall, if he so appears, explain to him the nature of the charge made against him and shall hear any explanation he may have to offer, and shall make such further investigation (if any) as appears to such authority to be relevant and reasonable:

Provided that—

(*a*) nothing in this sub-section shall be deemed to entitle the person whose case is before the investigating authority to appear or to be represented before it by pleader, nor shall the Local Government be so entitled:

(*b*) the investigating authority shall not disclose to the person in question any fact the communication of which might endanger the public safety or the safety of any individual:

(*c*) if the person in question requests the investigating authority to secure the attendance of any person or the production of any document or thing such authority shall, unless for reasons to be recorded in writing it deems it unnecessary so to do, cause such person to attend or such document or thing to be produced, and for that purpose shall have all the powers conferred on a District Magistrate in respect of those matters by the Code.

(*3*) Subject to the provisions of sub-section (*2*) the inquiry shall be conducted in such manner as the investigating authority considers best suited to elicit the facts of the case; and in making the inquiry, such authority shall not be bound to observe the rules of the law of evidence.

(*4*) Any statement made to an investigating authority by any person other than the person whose case is under investigation shall be deemed to be information given to a public servant within the meaning of section 182 of the Indian Penal Code.

XLV of 1860.

(*5*) On the completion of the inquiry, the investigating authority shall report in writing to the Local Government the conclusions at which it has arrived, and shall adduce reasons in support thereof. In so reporting the investigating authority shall state whether or not, in its opinion, the person whose case is under investigation is or has been actively concerned in any movement of the nature referred to in section 21.

(*6*) If the investigating authority has not completed the inquiry within the period for which the duration of the order is limited by section 25, such authority may recommend to the Local Government that the period of duration of the order shall be extended for such period as it may consider necessary, and on such a recommendation the Local Government may extend the duration of the order accordingly

Disposal of report of investigating authority.

27. (*1*) On receipt of the report of the investigating authority, the Local Government may discharge the order made under section 22, or may make any order which is authorised by that section:

Provided that—

(*a*) any order so made shall recite the conclusions of the investigating authority as reported by that authority; and

(*b*) a copy of such order shall be furnished to the person in respect of whom it is made.

(*2*) No order made under sub-section (*1*) shall continue in force for more than one year from the date of the order made under section 22.

(*3*) On the expiry of an order made under sub-section (*1*), the Local Government may, if it is satisfied that such a course is necessary in the interests of the public safety, again make in respect of the person to whom such order related any order which is authorised by section 22:

Provided that, before an order is made under this sub-section, a copy of the order which it is proposed to make shall be furnished to the person concerned, who may submit to the Local Government a representation in regard to such order. Any such representation shall be forwarded by the Local Government to the investigating authority for inquiry and report, and such authority, after inquiry conducted in accordance with the provisions of section 26, shall report thereon, and the Local Government shall consider such report:

Provided further that no order made under this sub-section shall continue in force for more than a year from the date on which it was made.

(*4*) Any order made under this section may at any time be discharged or may be altered by the substitution of any other order authorised by section 22:

Provided that no such alteration shall have the effect of prolonging the period for which such order would have been in force.

(*5*) The provisions of section 24 shall apply to the enforcement of orders made under this section.

Penalty for disobedience to order.

28. If any person fails to comply with, or attempts to evade, any order (other than an order to furnish security) made under section 22 or section 27, he shall, on conviction by a Magistrate, be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine, which may extend to five hundred rupees, or with both.

Provisions as to bonds.

29. The provisions of section 514 of the Code shall apply to bonds executed under the provisions of this Part, with this modification that the powers conferred by that section on the court shall be exercisable by any District Magistrate or Chief Presidency Magistrate, on application made on behalf of the Local Government.

Investigating authorities.

30. (*1*) As soon as may be after a notification has been issued bringing this Part into force, the Local Government shall appoint one or more investigating authorities for the purposes of this Part, and may appoint additional investigating authorities when necessary.

(*2*) Every investigating authority shall be appointed by order in writing, and shall consist of three persons, of whom two shall be persons having held judicial office not inferior to that of a District and Sessions Judge, and one shall be a person not in the service of the Crown in India.

(*3*) The Local Government may by like order appoint persons to fill casual vacancies occurring by reason of death, resignation of office or otherwise on any investigating authority, but in so doing shall observe the provisions of sub-section (*2*).

Visiting Committees.

31. (*1*) The Local Government shall by order in writing appoint such persons as it thinks fit to be Visiting Committees to report upon the welfare and treatment of persons under restraint under this Part, and shall by rules prescribe the functions which those Committees shall exercise:

Provided that, in making such rules, provision shall be made for periodical visit to persons under restraint under the provisions of this Part:

Provided further that a person in respect of whom an order has been made under section 22 or section 27 requiring him to abstain from any specified act or to report himself to the police shall not be deemed to be under restraint for the purposes of this section.

(*2*) All rules made under sub-section (*1*) shall be published in the local official Gazette, and on such publication shall have effect as if enacted in this Part.

Power to make rules by Local Government.

32. (*1*) The Local Government may make rules prescribing the authorities before whom and the manner in which bonds under this Part shall be executed, and providing for the procedure to be followed regarding the notification or residence and reports to the police by persons in respect of whom orders have been made under section 22 or section 27.

(*2*) All rules made under sub-section (*1*) shall be published in the local official Gazette, and on such publication shall have effect as if enacted in this Part.

PART III.

Condition of application of Part III.

33. If the Governor General in Council is satisfied that in the whole or any part of British India anarchical or revolutionary movements are being promoted and that scheduled offences in connection with such movements are prevalent to such an extent as to endanger the public safety, he may, by notification in the Gazette of India, make a declaration to that effect, and thereupon the provisions of this Part shall come into force in the area specified in the notification.

Powers exercisable when Part III is in force.

34. (*1*) Where, in the opinion of the Local Government, there are reasonable grounds for believing that any person has been or is concerned in such area in any scheduled offence, the Local Government may place all the materials in its possession relating to his case before a judicial officer who is qualified for appointment to a High Court and take his opinion thereon. If after considering such opinion the Local Government is satisfied that such action is necessary, it may make in respect of such person any order authorised by section 22, and may further by order in writing direct—

(*a*) the arrest of any such person without warrant;

(*b*) the confinement of any such person in such place and under such conditions and restrictions as it may specify:

Provided that no such person shall be confined in that part of a prison or other place which is used for the confinement of convicted criminal prisoners as defined in the Prisons Act, 1894; and

IX of 1894.

(*c*) the search of any place specified in the order which, in the opinion of the Local Government, has been, is being, or is about to be used by any such person for any purpose connected with any anarchical or revolutionary movement.

(2) The arrest of any person in pursuance of an order under clause (a) of sub-section (1) may be effected at any place where he may be found by any police-officer or by any other officer of Government to whom the order may be directed.

(3) An order for confinement under clause (b) or for search under clause (c) of sub-section (1) may be carried out by any officer of Government to whom the order may be directed, and such officer may use all means reasonably necessary to enforce the same.

Arrest.

35. Any person making an arrest in pursuance of an order under clause (a) of sub-section (1) of section 34 shall forthwith report the fact to the Local Government and, pending receipts of the orders of the Local Government, may by order in writing commit any person so arrested to such custody as the Local Government may by general or special order specify in this behalf:

Provided that no person shall be detained in such custody for a period exceeding seven days unless the Local Government so directs, and in no case shall such detention exceed fifteen days.

Search.

36. An order for the search of any place issued under the provisions of clause (c) of sub-section (1) of section 34 shall be deemed to be a search warrant issued by the District Magistrate having jurisdiction in the place specified therein, and shall be sufficient authority for the seizure of anything found in such place which the person executing the order has reason to believe is being used, or is likely to be used, for any purpose prejudicial to the public safety, and the provisions of the Code, so far as they can be made applicable, shall apply to searches made under the authority of any such order and to the disposal of any property seized in any such search.

Application of Part II, procedure.

37. Where an order (other than an order for arrest or search) has been made under section 34, the provisions of sections 23 to 27 shall apply in the same way as if the order were an order made under section 22, save that, on receipt of the report of the investigating authority, the Local Government may, subject to the conditions prescribed by section 27, make any order which is authorised by section 34, and sections 23 to 27 and 29 to 32 shall be deemed to be included in this Part.

Penalty for disobedience to orders under this Part.

38. If any person fails to comply with, or attempts to evade, any order made under section 34 or section 37 other than an order to furnish security, he shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with both.

PART IV.

Persons already under executive control.

IV of 1915.

39. (1) On the expiration of the Defence of India (Criminal Law Amendment) Act, 1915, every person in respect of whom an order under rule 3 of the Defence of India (Consolidation) Rules, 1915, was in force immediately before the expiration of that Act, and who has in the opnion of the Local Government been concerned in any scheduled offence, shall be deemed to be a person resident in an area in which a notification under section 21 is in force, and the provisions of Part II shall apply to every such person accordingly; and every person who is on such expiration in confinement in accordance with the provisions of the Bengal State Prisoners Regulation, 1818, shall be deemed to be a person resident in an area in which a notification under section 33 is in force, and the provisions of Part III shall apply to every such person accordingly:

III of 1818.

Provided that, within one month from the expiration of the Defence of India (Criminal Law Amendment) Act, 1915, the Local Government may, subject to the conditions prescribed in the first proviso to sub-section (*3*) of section 27 as made applicable by section 37, make any order of restraint which is authorised by Part III in respect of any person who is in confinement in accordance with the provisions of the said Regulation, and if such an order is so made it shall be deemed to be an order made under sub-section (*3*) of section 27 as made applicable by section 37, and the provisions of that Part regarding such an order shall apply accordingly.

IV of 1915.

(*2*) On the expiration of the Ingress into India Ordinance, 1914, as continued in force by the Emergency Legislation Continuance Act, 1915, any person in respect of whom an order was in force, immediately before such expiration under section 2 of that Ordinance read with clause (*b*) or clause (*c*) of sub-section (*2*) of section 3 of the Foreigners Ordinance, 1914, shall be deemed to be a person resident in an area in which a notification under section 21 is in force, and the provisions of Part II shall apply to every such person accordingly :

V of 1914. I of 1915.

III of 1914.

Provided that, within one month from the expiration of the Ingress into India Ordinance, 1914, the Local Government may, subject to the conditions prescribed in the first proviso to sub-section (*3*) of section 27, make any order of restraint which is authorised by that Part in respect of any such person, and if such an order is so made it shall be deemed to be an order made under sub-section (*3*) of section 27, and the provisions of that Part regarding such an order shall apply accordingly.

V of 1914.

PART V.

Effect of cancellation of notifications under section 3, 21 or 33.

40. When a notification issued under section 3 or section 21 or section 33 is cancelled, such cancellation shall not affect any trial, investigation or order commenced or made under this Act, and such trial, investigation or order may be continued or enforced, and on the completion of any such investigation, any order which might otherwise have been made may be made and enforced, as if such notification had not been cancelled.

Effect of orders made under Parts II and III outside notified area.

41. (*1*) An order made under Part II or Part III, directing a person to remain or reside in any area in British India outside the area in which such Part is in force, shall be as valid, and enforceable in like manner, as if such Part were in force throughout British India.

(*2*) An order made under clause (*a*) of sub-section (*1*) of section 34 for the arrest of any person may be executed at any place in British India outside the area in which Part III is in force, and the same procedure shall be followed as if Part III was in force throughout British India :

Provided that, if the arrest is made outside the province of the Local Government which made the order, the report required by section 35 shall be made to that Local Government, and the maximum period of detention limited by the proviso to that section shall be extended to twenty-one days.

Orders under this Act not to be called in question by the Courts.

42. No order under this Act shall be called in question in any Court, and no suit or prosecution or other legal proceeding shall lie against any person for anything which is in good faith done or intended to be done under this Act.

43. All powers given by this Act shall be in addition to and not in derogation of any other powers conferred by or under any enactment, and all such powers may be exercised in the same manner and by the same authority as if this Act had not been passed.

Powers of Act to be cumulative.

THE SCHEDULE.

(*See section 2*)

(1) Any offence under the following sections of the Indian Penal Code namely :—sections 121, 121-A, 122, 123, 124, 131 and 132.

XLV of 1860.

(2) Any of the following offences if in the opinion of Government such offence is connected with any anarchical or revolutionary movement namely :—

(*a*) any offence under sections 124-A, 148, 153-A, 302, 304, 326, 327, 329, 332, 333, 385, 386, 387, 392, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 431, 435, 436, 437, 438, 440, 454, 455, 457, 458, 459, 460, and 506 of the Indian Penal Code ;

XLV of 1860.

(*b*) any offence under the Explosive Substances Act, 1908 ;

VI of 1908.

(*c*) any offence under section 20 of the Indian Arms Act, 1878.

XI of 1878.

3) Any attempt or conspiracy to commit or any abetment of any of the above offences

APPENDIX III.

Report from the Joint Select Committee of the House of Lords and the House of Commons appointed to consider the Government of India Bill.

ORDERED TO REPORT—

1. That the Committee have met and considered the said Bill and taken the evidence of a large number of witnesses, many of whom had come all the way from India for the purpose. A mass of telegrams and other communications has also been received. The list of witnesses and the telegrams have been printed as an appendix to the evidence. Written representations have not as a rule been printed. The Committee appreciate the advantage they have derived from being placed in full possession of the views of many persons who have given much thought to the political future of the country.

2. The Committee were not charged, as some have seemed to think, with the task of reporting on the state of India, or on the conduct of the administration in India, or even at large on the best form of government for India, but only with the duty of dealing with this Bill, which had been read a second time in the House of Commons, according to the well-known forms of Parliamentary procedure and with the rules and conventions arising out of it.

3. In the declaration made by His Majesty's Government on the 20th August, 1917, there is enunciated the problem for which the Bill endeavours to provide a solution. It is to design the first stage in a measured progress towards responsible government. Any such stage, if it is to be a real advance, must, as the Committee conceive it, involve the creation of an electorate, and the bestowal of some share in the work and responsibilities of government on those whom the electorate chooses to represent its interests. In the present circumstances of India, the electorate must at the outset be small and the administrative experience of its representatives must be limited. Before, therefore, the policy of His Majesty's Government can be fulfilled the electorate must grow, and practical experience in the conduct of public affairs must be enlarged. During this period the guardianship of the peace of India cannot be withdrawn from the care of the official agency which Parliament at present charges with the duties of the administration, and the Committee regard it to be an essential feature of the policy of His Majesty's Government that, except in so far as he is released from responsibility by the changes made under this Bill, the Governor-General in Council should remain in undisturbed responsibility to Parliament and fully equipped with the necessary powers to fulfil that responsibility. But from the beginning the people must be given an opportunity, and all political wisdom points to its being a generous opportunity, of learning the actual business of government and of showing, by their conduct of it, to some future Parliament that the time has come for further extensions of power.

4. In the opinion of the Committee the plan proposed by the Bill is conceived wholly in this spirit, and interprets the pronouncement of the 28th August 1917, with scrupulous accuracy. It partitions the domain of provincial government into two fields, one of which is made over to ministers chosen from the elected members of the provincial legislature while the other remains under the adminis-

tration of a Governor-in-Council. This scheme has evoked apprehensions which are not unnatural in view of its novelty. But the Committee, after the most careful consideration of all suggested alternatives, are of opinion that it is the best way of giving effect to the spirit of the declared policy of His Majesty's Government. Its critics forget that the announcement spoke of a substantial step in the direction of the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government and not of the partial introduction of responsible government; and it is this distinction which justifies the method by which the Bill imposes responsibility, both on Ministers to the legislative council and on the members of the legislative council to their constituents, for the results of that part of the administration which is transferred to their charge.

5. Having weighed the evidence and information before them, the Committee have made a number of changes in the Bill. Those of a more detailed or miscellaneous character are briefly discussed below under the clauses to which they relate. Those which are directed to the avoidance of the difficulties and dangers which have been pointed out, proceed on a simple and, in the Committee's opinion, an indefeasible theory. That theory the Committee think it desirable to state at once. Ministers who enjoy the confidence of a majority in their legislative council will be given the fullest opportunity of managing that field of government which is entrusted to their care. In their work they will be assisted and guided by the Governor, who will accept their advice and promote their policy whenever possible. If he finds himself compelled to act against their advice, it will only be in circumstances roughly analogous to those in which he has to override his executive council —circumstances which will be indicated in the Instrument of Instructions furnished to him on his appointment by His Majesty. On the other hand, in and for that field of government in which Parliament continues to hold him responsible, the provincial Governor-in-Council will remain equipped with the sure and certain power of fulfilling that responsibility. The Committee will indicate in the course of this Report how they visualise the relations between the two parts of the provincial government, but they wish to place in the forefront of the Report their opinion that they see no reason why the relations should not be harmonious and mutually advantageous. They regard it as of the highest importance that the Governor should foster the habit of free consultation between both halves of his government, and indeed that he should insist upon it in all important matters of common interest. He will thus ensure that ministers will contribute their knowledge of the people's wishes and susceptibilities, and the members of his Executive Council their administrative experience, to the joint wisdom of the government. But while the Committee anticipate much advantage from amicable and, as far as possible, spontaneous association for purposes of deliberation, they would not allow it to confuse the duties or obscure the separate responsibility which will rest on the two parts of the administration. Each side of the government will advise and assist the other; neither will control or impede the other. The responsibility for administrative and legislative action in their own field will be fixed beyond possibility of doubt on ministers and on the majorities of the provincial legislatures which support them; and they will be given adequate power to fulfil their charge. Similarly within that field for which he remains accountable to Parliament, the responsibility for action must be fixed on the Governor-in-Council, and he must possess unfailing means for the discharge of his duties. Finally, behind the provincial authorities stands the Government of India.

6. The change which this Bill will make in the political structure and life of India is very important. It marks a great step in the path of self-government and it is a proof of the confidence reposed by His Majesty's Government in the

loyalty, wisdom and capacity of our Indian fellow-subjects. At the same time it points to the desirability of keeping Parliament in closer touch with Indian affairs than has recently been possible. The Committee accordingly propose that a Standing Joint Committee should be appointed by both Houses of Parliament for that purpose. It should have no statutory functions, but a purely advisory and consultative status; and among its tasks is one of high importance, the consideration of amendments to rules made under this Bill. For the plan on which the Bill has been drafted, and in the opinion of the Committee rightly drafted, will necessitate the completion of some of its main provisions by a large number of rules and other documents which will have to be framed before the machinery established by the Bill can come into working order. Many of these rules and documents will be drafted in India for the approval of the Secretary of State. When they come to England, it may be found convenient that the present Committee be re-appointed to advise Parliament in regard to them.

7. The Committee will now proceed to indicate the nature of the changes they have made in the Bill, and also their suggestions for action to be taken under it, either in the framing of rules or by executive process hereafter.

Preamble.

The Preamble of the Bill, as drafted, was based on the announcement of His Majesty's Government in Parliament of the 20th August, 1917, and it incorporated that part of the announcement which pointed to the progressive realisation of responsible government in British India as an integral part of the Empire, and to the expediency of gradually developing self-governing institutions in India, and it referred to the granting to the Provinces of India of a large measure of independence of the Government of India. It did not, however, deal with those parts of the announcement which spoke of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration, and declared that the progress of this policy could only be achieved by successive stages, and that Parliament, advised by His Majesty's Government and by the Government of India, on whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian people, must be the judge of the time and measure of each advance, and be guided by the co-operation received from those upon whom new opportunities of service are conferred and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility.

The Committee have enlarged the preamble so as to include all parts of the announcement of the 20th August, 1917. Their reason for doing so is that an attempt has been made to distinguish between the parts of this announcement, and to attach a different value to each part according to opinion. It has been said, for instance, that whereas the first part is a binding pledge, the later part is a mere expression of opinion of no importance. But the Committee think that it is of the utmost importance, from the very inauguration of these constitutional changes, that Parliament should make it quite plain that the responsibility for the successive stages of the development of self-government in India rests on itself and on itself alone, and that it cannot share this responsibility with, much less delegate it to, the newly-elected legislatures of India.

They also desire to emphasize the wisdom and justice of an increasing association of Indians with every branch of the administration, but they wish to make it perfectly clear that His Majesty's Government must remain free to appoint Europeans to those posts for which they are specially required and qualified.

PART I.

Clause 1.—The Committee wish to take this opportunity of acknowledging the debt they owe to the work of the two Committees on Franchise and Functions presided over by Lord Southborough. If they are not able to accept all the conclusions of these Committees, and if they recommend some additional provisions to those included in those reports, it does not mean that they are not very sensible of the value of the work done, without which, indeed, this constitutional change could not have been effected.

The lists of central, provincial and transferred subjects included in the Functions Committee's report have been somewhat altered after consultation with the India Office (*see* Appendix F *to the Minutes of Evidence*); and as so amended they are accepted by this Committee, subject to certain general observations at the end of this Report. It must not, however, be concluded that these partitions of the functions of government are absolutely clear-cut and mutually exclusive. They must in all cases be read with the reservations in the text of the Functions Committee's report, and with due regard to the necessity for special procedure in cases where their orbits overlap.

The Committee have given much attention to the difficult question of the principle on which the provincial revenues and balances should be distributed between the two sides of the provincial governments. They are confident that the problem can readily be solved by the simple process of common sense and reasonable give-and-take, but they are aware that this question might, in certain circumstances, become the cause of much friction in the provincial government, and they are of opinion that the rules governing the allocation of these revenues and balances should be framed so as to make the existence of such friction impossible. They advise that, if the Governor, in the course of preparing either his first or any subsequent budget, finds that there is likely to be a serious or protracted difference of opinion between the executive council and his ministers on this subject, he should be empowered at once to make an allocation of revenue and balances between the reserved and transferred subjects, which should continue for at least the whole life of the existing legislative council. The Committee do not endorse the suggestion that certain sources of revenue should be allocated to reserved, and certain sources to transferred subjects, but they recommend that the Governor should allocate a definite proportion of the revenue, say, by way of illustration, two-thirds to reserved and one-third to transferred subjects, and similarly a proportion, though not necessarily the same fraction, of the balances. If the Governor desires assistance in making the allocation, he should be allowed at his discretion to refer the question to be decided to such authority as the Governor-General shall appoint. Further, the Committee are of opinion that it should be laid down from the first that, until an agreement which both sides of the Government will equally support has been reached, or until an allocation has been made by the Governor, the total provisions of the different expenditure heads in the budget of the province for the preceding financial year shall hold good.

The Committee desire that the relation of the two sides of the Government in this matter, as in all others, should be of such mutual sympathy that each will be able to assist and influence for the common good the work of the other, but not to exercise control over it. The budget should not be capable of being used as a means for enabling ministers or a majority of the legislative council to direct the policy of reserved subjects; but on the other hand the executive council should be helpful to ministers in their desire to develop the departments entrusted to their care. On the Governor personally will devolve the task of holding the balance between the legitimate needs of both sets of his advisers.

Clause 2.—This clause has been inserted to regularise the raising of loans by local governments on the special security of their own provincial revenues.

Clause 3.—The question has been raised as to the communications between the Governors of provinces and the Secretary of State. The question as to whether such communications shall in future take place, and as to the procedure to be adopted in them, may well be left to the Secretary of State. In the opinion of the Committee there is no cause at present for disturbing the existing position, except to the extent to which the Secretary of State relaxes his powers of direction and control over local governments. To that extent the Government of India will also withdraw from intervention; but India is not yet ripe for a true federal system, and the central government cannot be relegated to functions of mere inspection and advice. The Committee trust that there will be an extensive delegation, statutory and otherwise, to provincial governments of some powers and duties now in the hands of the Government of India; and they trust also that the control of that Government over provincial matters will be exercised with a view to preparing the provinces for the gradual transfer of power to the provincial government and legislature.

Clause 4.—The Committee are of opinion that the ministers selected by the Governor to advise him on the transferred subjects should be elected members of the legislative council, enjoying its confidence and capable of leading it. A minister will have the option of resigning if his advice is not accepted by the Governor; and the Governor will have the ordinary constitutional right of dismissing a minister whose policy he believes to be either seriously at fault or out of accord with the views of the legislative council. In the last resort the Governor can always dissolve his legislative council and choose new ministers after a fresh election; but if this course is adopted the Committee hope that the Governor will find himself able to accept such views as his new ministers may press upon him regarding the issue which forced the dissolution. The Committee are of opinion that in no province will there be need for less than two ministers, while in some provinces more will be required. In these circumstances they think that it should be recognised from the commencement that ministers may be expected to act in concert together. They probably would do so; and in the opinion of the Committee it is better that they should, and therefore that the fact should be recognised on the face of the Bill. They advise that the status of ministers should be similar to that of the members of the executive council, but that their salaries should be fixed by the legislative council. Later on in this Report it will be suggested that Indian members of the Council of India in London should be paid a higher scale of remuneration than those members of the Council domiciled in the United Kingdom. The same principle might suggest to the legislative council that it was reasonable for the ministers of the provincial government domiciled in India to be paid on a lower scale of remuneration than the European members.

Provision has been made in this clause for the appointment, at the Governor's discretion, of non-official members of the legislative council to fill a rôle somewhat similar to that of the Parliamentary Under-Secretary in this country.

Clause 5.—The Committee are of opinion that the normal strength of an executive council, especially in the smaller provinces, need not exceed two members. They have not, however, reduced the existing statutory maximum of four; but if in any case the council includes two members with service qualifications, neither of whom is by birth an Indian, they think that it should also include two unofficial Indian members.

Clause 6.—The Committee desire at this point to give a picture of the manner in which they think that, under this Bill, the government of a province should be worked. There will be many matters of administrative business, as in all countries,

which can be disposed of departmentally. But there will remain a large category of business, of the character which would naturally be the subject of Cabinet consultation. In regard to this category the Committee conceive that the habit should be carefully fostered of joint deliberation between the members of the executive council and the ministers, sitting under the chairmanship of the Governor. There cannot be too much mutual advice and consultation on such subjects; but the Committee attach the highest importance to the principle that, when once opinions have been freely exchanged and the last word has been said, there ought then to be no doubt whatever as to where the responsibility for the decision lies. Therefore, in the opinion of the Committee, after such consultation, and when it is clear that the decision lies within the jurisdiction of one or other half of the Government, that decision in respect of a reserved subject should be recorded separately by the executive council, and in respect of a transferred subject by the ministers, and all acts and proceedings of the government should state in definite terms on whom the responsibility for the decision rests. It will not always, however, be clear, otherwise than in a purely departmental and technical fashion, with whom the jurisdiction lies in the case of questions of common interest. In such cases it will be inevitable for the Governor to occupy the position of informal arbitrator between the two parts of his administration; and it will equally be his duty to see that a decision arrived at on one side of his government is followed by such consequential action on the other side as may be necessary to make the policy effective and homogeneous.

The position of the Governor will thus be one of great responsibility and difficulty, and also of great opportunity and honour. He may have to hold the balance between divergent policies and different ideals, and to prevent discord and friction. It will also be for him to help with sympathy and courage the popular side of his government in their new responsibilities. He should never hesitate to point out to ministers what he thinks is the right course or to warn them if he thinks they are taking the wrong course. But if, after hearing all the arguments, ministers should decide not to adopt his advice, then, in the opinion of the Committee, the Governor should ordinarily allow ministers to have their way, fixing the responsibility upon them, even if it may subsequently be necessary for him to veto any particular piece of legislation. It is not possible but that in India, as in all other countries, mistakes will be made by ministers, acting with the approval of a majority of the legislative council, but there is no way of learning except through experience and by the realisation of responsibility.

In the debates of the legislative council members of the executive council should act together and ministers should act together, but members of the executive council and ministers should not oppose each other by speech or vote; members of the executive council should not be required to support either by speech or vote proposals of ministers of which they do not approve, nor should ministers be required to support by speech or vote proposals of the executive council of which they do not approve; they should be free to speak and vote for each other's proposals when they are in agreement with them. All other official members of the legislative council should be free to speak and vote as they choose.

Clause 7.—The Committee have altered the first schedule to the Bill, so as to show only the total strength of the legislative council in each province. They have retained the provision, now in sub-clause (2), that at least 70 per cent. of the members shall be elected, and not more than 20 per cent. shall be officials. This general stipulation will govern the distribution of the seats in each province; but in certain respects the detailed arrangements will require further consideration, and proposals should be called for from the Government of India in regard to them. The points in question, as well as some disputable matters on which the Committee

wish to endorse the proposals of the Franchise Committee's report, are dealt with in the following recommendations :—

(*a*) The Committee regard the number of seats allotted to the rural population, as distinct from the urban, as disproportionately low and consider that it should receive a larger share of representation. They also think that an attempt should be made to secure better representation of the urban wage-earning class ; and they are convinced that an effort should be made to remedy in part at least the present disparity between the size of the electorates in the different provinces. In all those matters no definite instructions need be given. The Government of India should be left a wide discretion in adjusting the figures, subject, however, to the understanding that the adjustment should be effected in all cases rather by enlargement than by diminution of the representation proposed in the Franchise Committee's report.

(*b*) The Committee are of opinion that the representation proposed for the depressed classes is inadequate. Within this definition are comprised, as shown in the report of the Franchise Committee, a large proportion of the whole population of India. They think that the Government of India should, as it advises, be instructed to give such classes a larger share of representation by nomination, regard being had to the numbers of depressed classes in each province, and after consultation with the Local Governments. This representation should, if necessary, be in addition to, but not in diminution of, the general electorate. Whenever possible, other persons than members of the Civil Services should be selected to represent the depressed classes, but if a member of those services, specially qualified for this purpose, has to be appointed, his nomination should not operate to increase the maximum ratio of official seats.

(*c*) In the Madras Presidency the Committee consider that the non-Brahmins must be provided with separate representation by means of the reservation of seats. The Brahmins and non-Brahmins should be invited to settle the matter by negotiation among themselves ; and it would only be, if agreement cannot be reached in that way, that the decision should be referred to an arbitrator appointed for the purpose by the Government of India.

(*d*) The Committee would recommend that similar treatment be accorded to the Mahrattas in the Bombay Presidency.

(*e*) The question whether women should or should not be admitted to the franchise on the same terms as men should be left to the newly elected legislative council of each province to settle by resolution. The Government of India should be instructed to make rules so that, if a legislative council so voted, women might be put upon the register of voters in that province. The Committee have not felt able to settle this question themselves, as urged by the majority of witnesses who appeared before them. It seems to them to go deep into the social system and susceptibilities of India, and, therefore, to be a question which can only, with any prudence, be settled in accordance with the wishes of Indians themselves as constitutionally expressed.

(*f*) The Committee are of opinion that the franchise as settled by the rules to be made under this Act should not be altered for the first ten years, and that it should at present be outside the power of the Legislative Councils to make any alteration in the franchise. The recommenda-

tion, therefore, in respect of woman suffrage, is to be regarded as altogether exceptional, and as not forming any precedent in respect of proposals for other alterations.

(*g*) The special representation of landholders in the provinces should be reconsidered by the Government of India in consultation with the local governments.

(*h*) The franchise for the University seats should be extended to all graduates of over seven years' standing.

(*i*) The Government of India should be instructed to consult with the Government of Bengal in respect of the representation of Europeans in Bengal. It appears to the Committee that there are good reasons for a readjustment of that representation. The recommendations of the report of the Franchise Committee in respect of European representation in other provinces may be accepted.

(*j*) The question whether the rulers and subjects of Indian States may be registered as electors or may be elected to the legislative councils should be left to be settled in each case by the local government of the province.

(*k*) The Committee are of opinion that dismissal from the service of the government in India should not be a disqualification for election, but that a criminal conviction entailing a sentence of more than six months' imprisonment should be a disqualification for five years from the date of the expiration of the sentence.

(*l*) The compromise suggested by the Franchise Committee in respect of the residential qualification of candidates for legislative councils whereby the restriction was to be imposed only in the provinces of Bombay, the Punjab, and the Central Provinces may be accepted.

(*m*) The recommendations of the Franchise Committee in respect of the proportionate representations of Mohammedans, based on the Lucknow compact, may be accepted.

Two further observations must be made on this question of franchise. It seems to the Committee that the principle of proportional representation may be found to be particularly applicable to the circumstances of India, and they recommend that this suggestion be fully explored, so that there may be material for consideration by the Statutory Commission when it sits at the end of ten years. Further it has been strongly represented to the Committee, and the Committee are themselves firmly convinced, that a complete and stringent Corrupt Practices Act should be passed and brought into operation before the first elections for the legislative councils. There is no such Act at present in existence in India, and the Committee are convinced that it will not be less required in India than it is in other countries.

Clause 9.—The Committee have considered carefully the question who is to preside over the legislative councils in the provinces. They are of opinion that the Governor should not preside, and they advise that, for a period of four years, the President should be appointed by the Governor. Wherever possible it would be a great advantage if someone could be found for this purpose who had had parliamentary experience. The legislative council should itself elect a Vice-President, and at the end of four years the nominated President would disappear, and the President and Vice-President would be elected by the councils. The Committee attribute the greatest importance to this question of the Presidency of the legislative council. It will, in their opinion, conduce very greatly to the successful working of the new councils if they are imbued from the commencement with the spirit and conventions of parliamentary procedure as developed in the

Imperial Parliament. The Committee will recur to this subject in dealing with the question of the President of the Legislative Assembly of India.

Clause 11.—The Committee think that the provincial budget should be submitted to the vote of the legislative council, subject to the exemption from this process of certain charges of a special or recurring character which have been set out in the Bill. In cases where the council alter the provision for a transferred subject, the Committee consider that the Governor would be justified if so advised by his ministers, in re-submitting the provision to the council for a review of their former decision; but they do not apprehend that any statutory prescription to that effect is required. Where the council have reduced a provision for a reserved subject which the Governor considers essential to the proper administration of the subject concerned, he will have a power of restoration. The Committee wish it to be perfectly clear that this power is real and that its exercise should not be regarded as unusual or arbitrary; unless the Governor has the right to secure supply for those services for which he remains responsible to Parliament, that responsibility cannot justly be fastened upon him.

Whenever the necessity for new taxation arises, as arise it must, the questions involved should be threshed out by both parts of the Government in consultation together, and it is especially important that in this matter both parts of the Government should, if possible, be in agreement when the proposals of the Government are laid before the legislature.

Clause 13.—The Committee have rejected the plan of Grand Committees as drafted originally in the Bill. They have done so because in their opinion the Grand Committee did not give the Governor the power of securing legislation in a crisis in respect of those matters for which he is held responsible, and because in respect of ordinary legislation about reserved subjects it perpetuated the system of securing legislation by what is known as the "official bloc," which has been the cause of great friction and heartburning. The responsibility for legislation on reserved subjects is with the Governor in Council, and, when the "official bloc" has been put into operation, it has been put into operation by him, and is merely an indirect way of asserting his responsibility. The Committee think it much better that there should be no attempt to conceal the fact that the responsibility is with the Governor in Council, and they recommend a process by which the Governor should be empowered to pass an Act in respect of any reserved subject, if he considers that the Act is necessary for the proper fulfilment of his responsibility to Parliament. He should not do so until he has given every opportunity for the matter to be thoroughly discussed in the legislative council, and as a sensible man he should, of course, endeavour to carry the legislative council with him in the matter by the strength of his case. But, if he finds that cannot be so, then he should have the power to proceed on his own responsibility. Acts passed on his sole responsibility should be reserved by the Governor-General for His Majesty's pleasure, and be laid before Parliament. His Majesty will necessarily be advised by the Secretary of State for India, and the responsibility for the advice to be given to His Majesty can only rest with the Secretary of State. But the Committee suggest that the Standing Committee of Parliament, whose appointment they have advised, should be specially consulted about Acts of this character. Provision, however, is made in the Bill for the avoidance of delay in case of a grave emergency by giving the Governor-General power to assent to the Act without reserving it, though this of course would not prevent subsequent disallowance by His Majesty in Council.

Clause 15.—The Committee have two observations to make on the working of this Clause. On the one hand, they do not think that any change in the boundaries of a province should be made without due consideration of the views of the

legislative council of the province. On the other hand, they are of opinion that any clear request made by a majority of the members of a legislative council representing a distinctive racial or linguistic territorial unit for its constitution under this Clause as a sub-province or a separate province should be taken as a *primâ facie* case on the strength of which a commission of inquiry might be appointed by the Secretary of State, and that it should not be a bar to the appointment of such a commission of inquiry that the majority of the legislative council of the province in question is opposed to the request of the minority representing such a distinctive territorial unit.

PART II.

Clause 18.—As will be explained below, the Committee do not accept the device in the Bill as drafted, of carrying government measures through the Council of State without reference to the Legislative Assembly, in cases where the latter body cannot be got to assent to a law which the Governor-General considers essential. Under the scheme which the Committee propose to substitute for this procedure there is no necessity to retain the Council of State as an organ for government legislation. It should therefore be reconstituted from the commencement as a true Second Chamber. They recommend that it should consist of sixty members, of whom not more than twenty should be official members. The Franchise Committee advise that the non-official members should be elected by the same group of persons as elect the members of the Legislative Assembly and in the same constituencies. This is a plan which the Committee could, in no circumstances, accept. They hope and believe that a different system of election for the Council of State can be devised by the time the constitution embodied in this Bill comes into operation, and they recommend that the Government of India be enjoined forthwith to make suggestions accordingly, to which effect can be given without delaying the inauguration of the new constitution. If the advice of the Committee that it be re-appointed for the purpose of considering the rules to be framed under this Bill be approved, it should have an opportunity of considering the proposals made for the election of the Council of State.

Clause 19.—For the Legislative Assembly the Committee are equally unwilling to accept, as a permanent arrangement, the method of indirect election proposed in the report of the Franchise Committee. If by no other course it were possible to avoid delay in bringing the constitution enacted by the Bill into operation, the Committee would acquiesce in that method for a preliminary period of three years. But they are not convinced that delay would be involved in preparing a better scheme of election, and they endorse the views expressed by the Government of India in paragraph 39 of its despatch dealing with the subject. They accordingly advise that the Government of India be instructed at once to make recommendations to this effect at the earliest possible moment. These recommendations as embodied in draft rules would also be subject to examination by this Committee if re-appointed.

Clause 20.—The Committee think that the President of the Legislative Assembly should for four years be a person appointed by the Governor-General. He should be qualified by experience in the House of Commons and a knowledge of parliamentary procedure, precedents, and conventions. He should be the guide and adviser of the Presidents of the provincial councils, and he should be chosen with a view to the influence which it is hoped he would have on the whole history of parliamentary procedure in India. He should be paid an adequate salary.

Clause 25.—This is a new provision for the submission of the Indian Budget to the vote of the Legislative Assembly, on the understanding that this body is

constituted as a chamber reasonably representative in character and elected directly by suitable constituencies. The Committee consider it necessary (as suggested to them by the consolidated fund charges in the Imperial Parliament) to exempt certain charges of a special or recurring nature, which have been set out in the Bill, *e.g.*, the cost of defence, the debt charges and certain fixed salaries, from the process of being voted. But otherwise they would leave the Assembly free to criticise and vote the estimates of expenditure of the Government of India. It is not, however, within the scheme of the Bill to introduce at the present stage any measure of responsible government into the central administration, and a power must be reserved to the Governor-General in Council of treating as sanctioned any expenditure which the Assembly may have refused to vote if he considers the expenditure to be necessary for the fulfilment of his responsibilities for the good government of the country. It should be understood from the beginning that this power of the Governor-General in Council is real, and that it is meant to be used if and when necessary.

Clause 26.—For reasons which prompted their rejection of the process of certification by a Governor to a grand committee in a province, the Committee are opposed to the proposals in the Bill which would have enabled the Governor-General to refer to the Council of State, and to obtain by virtue of his official majority in that body, any legislation which the lower chamber refuse to accept, but which he regards as essential to the discharge of his duties. The Committee have no hesitation in accepting the view that the Governor-General in Council should in all circumstances be fully empowered to secure legislation which is required for the discharge of his responsibilities ; but they think it is unworthy that such responsibility should be concealed through the action of a Council of State specially devised in its composition to secure the necessary powers. They believe that in such a case it would add strength to the Government of India to act before the world on its own responsibility. In order, however, that Parliament may be fully apprised of the position and of the considerations which led to this exceptional procedure, they advise that all Acts passed in this manner should be laid before Parliament, who would naturally consider the opinion of the standing committee already referred to.

Clause 28.—The recommendation of the Committee is that the present limitation on the number of the members of the Governor-General's Executive Council should be removed, that three members of that Council should continue to be public servants or ex-public servants who have had not less than ten years' experience in the service of the Crown in India ; that one member of the Council should have definite legal qualifications, but that those qualifications may be gained in India as well as in the United Kingdom ; and that not less than three members of the Council should be Indians. In this connection it must be borne in mind that the members of the Council drawn from the ranks of the public servants will, as time goes on, be more and more likely to be of Indian rather than of European extraction.

Clause 29.—The Committee have inserted this provision to allow of the selection of members of the legislature who will be able to undertake duties similar to those of the Parliamentary Under-Secretaries in this country. It should be entirely at the discretion of the Governor-General to say to which departments these officers should be attached, and to define the scope of their duties.

Part III.

Clause 30.—The Committee think that all charges of the India Office, not being " agency " charges, should be paid out of moneys to be provided by Parliament.

Clause 31.—The Committee are not in favour of the abolition of the Council of India. They think that, at any rate for some time to come, it will be absolutely necessary that the Secretary of State should be advised by persons of Indian experience, and they are convinced that, if no such Council existed, the Secretary of State would have to form an informal one if not a formal one. Therefore, they think it much better to continue a body which has all the advantages behind it of tradition and authority, although they would not debar the readjustment of its work so as to make it possible to introduce what is known as the portfolio system. They think, also, that its constitution may advantageously be modified by the introduction of more Indians into it and by shortening of the period of the service upon it, in order to ensure a continuous flow of fresh experience from India and to relieve Indian members from the necessity of spending so long a period as seven years in England.

Clause 33.—The Committee have given most careful consideration to the relations of the Secretary of State with the Government of India, and through it with the provincial governments. In the relations of the Secretary of State with the Governor-General in Council the Committee are not of opinion that any statutory change can be made, so long as the Governor-General remains responsible to Parliament, but in practice the conventions which now govern these relations may wisely be modified to meet fresh circumstances caused by the creation of a Legislative Assembly with a large elected majority. In the exercise of his responsibility to Parliament, which he cannot delegate to any one else, the Secretary of State may reasonably consider that only in exceptional circumstances should he be called upon to intervene in matters of purely Indian interest where the Government and the Legislature of India are in agreement.

This examination of the general proposition leads inevitably to the consideration of one special case of non-intervention. Nothing is more likely to endanger the good relations between India and Great Britain than a belief that India's fiscal policy is dictated from Whitehall in the interests of the trade of Great Britain. That such a belief exists at the moment there can be no doubt. That there ought to be no room for it in the future is equally clear. India's position in the Imperial Conference opened the door to negotiation between India and the rest of the Empire, but negotiation without power to legislate is likely to remain ineffective. A satisfactory solution of the question can only be guaranteed by the grant of liberty to the Government of India to devise those tariff arrangements which seem best fitted to India's needs as an integral portion of the British Empire. It cannot be guaranteed by statute without limiting the ultimate power of Parliament to control the administration of India, and without limiting the power of veto which rests in the Crown; and neither of these limitations finds a place in any of the statutes in the British Empire. It can only therefore be assured by an acknowledgment of a convention. Whatever be the right fiscal policy for India, for the needs of her consumers as well as for her manufacturers, it is quite clear that she should have the same liberty to consider her interests as Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa. In the opinion of the Committee, therefore, the Secretary of State should as far as possible avoid interference on this subject when the Government of India and its Legislature are in agreement, and they think that his intervention, when it does take place, should be limited to safeguarding the international obligations of the Empire or any fiscal arrangements within the Empire to which His Majesty's Government is a party.

The relations of the Secretary of State and of the Government of India with provincial governments should, in the Committee's judgment, be regulated by similar principles, so far as the reserved subjects are concerned. It follows therefore, that in purely provincial matters, which are reserved, where the provincial

government and legislature are in agreement, their view should ordinarily be allowed to prevail, though it is necessary to bear in mind the fact that some reserved subjects do cover matters in which the central government is closely concerned. Over transferred subjects, on the other hand, the control of the Governor-General in Council, and thus of the Secretary of State, should be restricted in future within the narrowest possible limits, which will be defined by rules under sub-clause 3 of Clause 1 of the Bill.

Rules under this clause will be subsidiary legislation of sufficient moment to justify their being brought especially to the notice of Parliament. The Secretary of State might conveniently discuss them with the Standing Committee whose creation has been recommended in this Report; and Parliament would no doubt consider the opinion of this body when the rules come, as it is proposed that they should do, for acceptance by positive resolution in both Houses. The same procedure is recommended by the Committee for adoption in the case of rules of special or novel importance under other clauses of the Bill. It must be for the Secretary of State to decide which of the many rules that will fall to be drafted by the Government of India can be sufficiently dealt with by the ordinary process of lying on the table of Parliament for a certain number of days. In deciding this point, however, he may naturally have recourse to the advice of the Standing Committee, should it happen to be in session, and obtain their assistance in determining which rules deserved to be made the subject of the more formal procedure by positive resolution.

Clause 35.—This clause carries out the recommendation of Lord Crewe's Committee to appoint a High Commissioner for India, to be paid out of Indian revenues, who will perform for India functions of agency, as distinguished from political functions, analogous to those now performed in the offices of the High Commissioners of the Dominions.

Part IV.

Clause 36.—The Committee do not conceal from themselves that the position of the public services in working the new constitutions in the provinces will, in certain circumstances, be difficult. They are of opinion that these services have deserved the admiration and gratitude of the whole Empire. They know that some members of the services regard the wisdom of the proposed changes with grave misgiving, and that some fear that those changes will not tend to the welfare of the Indian masses. They are convinced, however, that the services will accept the changing conditions and the inevitable alteration in their own position, and devote themselves in all loyalty to making a success, so far as in them lies, of the new constitution.

In the provinces, officers serving in a reserved department will be controlled by the Governor in Council, and in a transferred department by the Governor acting with ministers, but in both cases alike the personal concurrence of the Governor should be regarded as essential in the case of all orders of any importance prejudicially affecting the position or prospects of officers appointed by the Secretary of State.

The Committee think that every precaution should be taken to secure to the public servants the career in life to which they looked forward when they were recruited, and they have introduced fresh provisions into this clause to that end. If friction occurs, a re-adjustment of persons and places may often get over the difficulty, and the Governor must always regard it as one of his most important duties to establish a complete understanding between his ministers and the officers through whom they will have to work. But if there are members of the service

whose doubts as to the changes to be made are so deeply-rooted that they feel they cannot usefully endeavour to take part in them, then the Committee think it would only be fair to those officers that they should be offered an equivalent career elsewhere, if it is in the power of His Majesty's Government to do so, or, in the last resort, that they should be allowed to retire on such pension as the Secretary of State in Council may consider suitable to their period of service.

Part V.

Clause 41.—The Committee are of opinion that the Statutory Commission should not be appointed until the expiration of ten years, and that no changes of substance in the constitution, whether in the franchise or in the lists of reserved and transferred subjects or otherwise, should be made in the interval. The Commission will be fully empowered to examine the working of the constitutions in all their details in the provinces, and to advise whether the time has come for full responsible government in each province, or in the alternative whether and to what extent the powers of self-government already granted should be extended, or modified, or restricted. It should be clearly understood, also, that the Commission should be empowered to examine into the working of the Government of India and to advise in respect of the Government of India no less than in respect of the provincial governments.

8. This concludes the Committee's specific recommendations on the Bill. There remain certain other topics which do not conveniently fall within any particular clause. The first of these is the treatment of Burma, and after hearing evidence the Committee have not advised that Burma should be included within the scheme. They do not doubt but that the Burmese have deserved and should receive a constitution analogous to that provided in this Bill for their Indian fellow-subjects. But Burma is only by accident part of the responsibility of the Governor-General of India. The Burmese are as distinct from the Indians in race and language as they are from the British.

9. Doubts have been expressed from several quarters questioning the financial adjustment proposed between the Central and Provincial Governments in India. Without expressing any opinion on this controversy, the Committee accept and endorse the recommendation of the Government of India that a fully qualified financial commission should be appointed to advise as to the principle on which contributions from the provincial governments to the Central Government should in future be adjusted.

10. The Committee think that it may often greatly assist the political education of India if standing committees of the legislative bodies are attached to certain departments of Government, but they only express this opinion on the understanding that the appointment of such committees, their composition, and the regulations which govern their procedure, shall be matters wholly and exclusively within the discretion of the Governor-General or of the Governor as the case may be.

11. The Committee are impressed by the objections raised by many witnesses to the manner in which certain classes of taxation can be laid upon the people of India by executive action without, in some cases, any statutory limitation of the rates and, in other cases, any adequate prescription by statute of the methods of assessment. They consider that the imposition of new burdens should be gradually brought more within the purview of the Legislature. And in particular, without expressing any judgment on the question whether the land revenue is a rent or tax, they advise that the process of revising the land revenue assessments ought to be brought under closer regulation by statute as soon as possible. At present

the statutory basis for charging revenue on the land varies in different provinces ; but in some at least the pitch of assessment is entirely at the discretion of the executive government. No branch of the administration is regulated with greater elaboration or care ; but the people who are most affected have no voice in the shaping of the system, and the rules are often obscure and imperfectly understood by those who pay the revenue. The Committee are of opinion that the time has come to embody in the law the main principles by which the land revenue is determined, the methods of valuation, the pitch of assessment, the periods of revision, the graduation of enhancements, and the other chief processes which touch the well-being of the revenue payers. The subject is one which probably would not be transferred to ministers until the electorate included a satisfactory representation of rural interests, those of the tenantry as well as of the landlords ; and the system should be established on a clear statutory basis before this change takes place.

12. The Committee have not hitherto touched on the subject of education in India, and it is far too large for them to make any attempt to deal with it adequately. They have accepted the recommendation of the Functions Committee that, subject to certain reservations about the Universities, the responsibility for the whole field of education in each province should be transferred to ministers. They attach much importance, however, to the educational advancement of the depressed and backward classes, and they trust that the subject will receive special attention from ministers. They are also impressed by the advantage of Board such as Sir Michael Sadler has advised in Bengal, for the assistance of ministers in controlling the different grades of education, and they trust that ministers will see their way from the outset to constitute such Boards in every province. The Committee would similarly commend to ministers the advisability of creating local government departments in the provinces.

13. The Committee attac the greatest importance to the formation in each provincial government of a strong department of Finance which will serve both sides of the Government alike.

14. The Committee have been greatly struck by the earnest representations made to them by several witnesses, both of British and Indian birth, to the effect that the Government of India and the provincial governments must become more vocal, and put forth their view of what the good of India requires with more courage and more persistence than they have in the past. It has been represented to them that it will be of the utmost importance in the future that the Government of India and the provincial governments should have means of explaining to the people of India the reasons why things are done, the reasons which underlie decisions, and the arguments against proposals which they consider will be detrimental to the welfare of the country. It was represented to the Committee that at present, to a great extent, the case for the policy of the Government of India and of the provincial governments is unknown to the masses of Indians, whereas the case against that policy is becoming every day more widely disseminated by means of the vernacular press. They are glad to think that this opinion is also shared by the Secretary of State for India and the Viceroy. It is dealt with in paragraph 326 of their report on Indian Constitutional Reforms.

15. In conclusion the Committee emphatically repudiate the suggestion that the changes in this Bill in the form of the provincial governments of India imply any condemnation of the present system of government in India. The Government of India has accomplished great things for India's good and one of its greatest services has been the introduction into India of a reign of law, to which the Government itself is as much subject as the people it governs. It is no reproach to

it that in form it has been everywhere autocratic. So long as Parliament on the one hand did not bestow any form of constitutional self-government on any part of India, and on the other hand held the Government of India rigidly responsible to itself for its every action, it could not be otherwise in the provinces any more than at the central seat of government. But, whatever the form, the spirit of its being everywhere and always has been effort for the welfare of the masses of the people of India.

16. The Committee have directed the Minutes of Proceedings, together with Appendices, to be laid before both Houses of Parliament.

APPENDIX IV.

Government of India Act, 1919, (9 & 10 Geo. 5, Ch. 101.)

ARRANGEMENT OF SECTIONS.

PART I.

LOCAL GOVERNMENTS.

SECTION.

1. Classification of central and provincial subjects.
2. Borrowing powers of local governments.
3. Revised system of local government in certain provinces.
4. Appointment of ministers and council secretaries.
5. Qualification of members of local executive councils.
6. Business of governor in council and governor with ministers.
7. Composition of governors' legislative councils.
8. Sessions and duration of governors' legislative councils.
9. Presidents of governors' legislative councils.
10. Powers of local legislatures.
11. Business and procedure in governors' legislative councils.
12. Return and reservation of Bills.
13. Provision for case of failure to pass legislation in governors' legislative councils.
14. Vacation of seats in local legislative councils.
15. Constitution of new provinces, etc. ; and provision as to backward tracts.
16. Saving.

PART II.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

17. Indian legislature.
18. Council of State.
19. Legislative Assembly.
20. President of Legislative Assembly.
21. Duration and sessions of Legislative Assembly and Council of State.
22. Membership of both chambers.
23. Supplementary provisions as to composition of Legislative Assembly and Council of State.
24. Business and proceedings in Indian legislature.
25. Indian budget.
26. Provision for case of failure to pass legislation.
27. Supplemental provisions as to powers of Indian legislature.
28. Composition of Governor-General's executive council.
29. Appointment of council secretaries.
30. Payment of salary of Secretary of State, etc., out of moneys provided by Parliament.

PART III.

SECRETARY OF STATE IN COUNCIL.

SECTION.

31. Council of India.
32. Further provisions as to Council of India.
33. Relaxation of control of Secretary of State.
34. Correspondence between Secretary of State and India.
35. High Commissioner for India.

PART IV.

THE CIVIL SERVICES IN INDIA.

36. The civil services in India.
37. Appointments to the Indian Civil Service.
38. Public service commission.
39. Financial control.
40. Rules under Part IV.

PART V.

STATUTORY COMMISSION.

41. Statutory commission.

PART VI.

GENERAL.

42. Modification of s. 124 of principal Act.
43. Signification of Royal Assent.
44. Power to make rules.
45. Amendments of principal Act to carry Act into effect, etc.
46. Definition of official.
47. Short title, commencement, interpretation and transitory provisions.
SCHEDULES.

AN ACT TO MAKE FURTHER PROVISION WITH RESPECT TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

[*23rd December, 1919.*]

WHEREAS it is the declared policy of Parliament to provide for the increasing association of Indians in every branch of Indian administration, and for the gradual development of self-governing institutions, with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in British India as an integral part of the empire:

And whereas progress in giving effect to this policy can only be achieved by successive stages, and it is expedient that substantial steps in this direction should now be taken:

And whereas the time and manner of each advance can be determined only by Parliament, upon whom responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples:

And whereas the action of Parliament in such matters must be guided by the co-operation received from those on whom new opportunities of service will be conferred, and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility:

And whereas concurrently with the gradual development of self-governing institutions in the Provinces of India it is expedient to give to those Provinces in provincial matters the largest measure of independence of the Government of India, which is compatible with the due discharge by the latter of its own responsibilities:

Be it therefore enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:—

PART I.

Local Governments.

Classification of central and provincial subjects.

1. (*1*) Provision may be made by rules under the Government of India Act, by 1915, as amended by the Government of India (Amendment) Act, 1916 (which Act, as so amended, is in this Act referred to as "the principal Act")—

(*a*) for the classification of subjects, in relation to the functions of government, as central and provincial subjects, for the purpose of distinguishing the functions of local governments and local legislatures from the functions of the Governor-General in Council and the Indian legislature;

(*b*) for the devolution of authority in respect of provincial subjects to local governments, and for the allocation of revenues or other moneys to those governments;

(*c*) for the use under the authority of the Governor-General in Council of the agency of local governments in relation to central subjects, in so far as such agency may be found convenient, and for determining the financial conditions of such agency; and

(*d*) for the transfer from among the provincial subjects of subjects (in this Act referred to as "transferred subjects.") to the administration of the governor acting with ministers appointed under this Act, and for the allocation of revenues or moneys for the purpose of such administration.

(*2*) Without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing powers, rules made for the above-mentioned purposes may—

(*i*) regulate the extent and conditions of such devolution, allocation, and transfer;

(*ii*) provide for fixing the contributions payable by local governments to the Governor-General in Council, and making such contributions a first charge on allocated revenues or moneys;

(*iii*) provide for constituting a finance department in any province, and regulating the functions of that department;

(*iv*) provide for regulating the exercise of the authority vested in the local government of a province over members of the public services therein;

(*v*) provide for the settlement of doubts arising as to whether any matter does or does not relate to a provincial subject or a transferred subject and for the treatment of matters which affect both a transferred subject and a subject which is not transferred; and

(*vi*) make such consequential and supplemental provisions as appear necessary or expedient:

Provided that, without prejudice to any general power of revoking or altering rules under the principal Act, the rules shall not authorise the revocation or suspension of the transfer of any subject except with the sanction of the Secretary of State in Council.

(*3*) The powers of superintendence, direction, and control over local governments vested in the Governor-General in Council under the principal Act shall, in relation to transferred subjects, be exercised only for such purposes as may be specified in rules made under that Act, but the Governor-General in Council shall be the sole judge as to whether the purpose of the exercise of such powers in any particular case comes within the purposes so specified.

(*4*) The expressions "central subjects" and "provincial subjects" as used in this Act mean subjects so classified under the rules.

Provincial subjects, other than transferred subjects, are in this Act referred to as "reserved subjects."

Borrowing powers of local governments.

2. (*1*) The provision in sub-section (*1*) of section thirty of the principal Act, which gives power to local governments to raise money on real or personal estate within the limits of their respective governments by way of mortgage or otherwise, shall have effect as though that provision conferred a power on local governments to raise money on the security of their allocated revenues, and to make proper assurances for that purpose.

(*2*) Provision may be made by rules under the principal Act as to the conditions under which the power to raise loans on the security of allocated revenues shall be exercised.

(*3*) The provision in sub-section (*1*) of section thirty of the principal Act, which enables the Secretary of State in Council with the concurrence of a majority of votes at a meeting of the Council of India to prescribe provisions or conditions limiting the power to raise money, shall cease to have effect as regards the power to raise money on the security of allocated revenues.

Revised system of local government in certain provinces.

3. (*1*) The presidencies of Fort William in Bengal, Fort St. George, and Bombay, and the provinces known as the United Provinces, the Punjab, Bihar and Orissa, the Central Provinces, and Assam, shall each be governed, in relation to reserved subjects, by a governor in council, and in relation to transferred subjects (save as otherwise provided by this Act) by the governor acting with ministers appointed under this Act.

The said presidencies and provinces are in this Act referred to as "governor's provinces" and the two first-named presidencies are in this Act referred to as the presidencies of Bengal and Madras.

(*2*) The provisions of sections forty-six to fifty-one of the principal Act, as amended by this Act, shall apply to the United Provinces, the Punjab, Bihar and Orissa, the Central Provinces, and Assam, as they apply to the presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay: Provided that the governors of the said provinces shall be appointed after consultation with the Governor-General.

Appointment of ministers and council secretaries.

4. (*1*) The governor of a governor's province may, by notification, appoint ministers, not being members of his executive council or other officials, to administer transferred subjects, and any ministers so appointed shall hold office during his pleasure.

There may be paid to any minister so appointed in any province the same salary as is payable to a member of the executive council in that province, unless a smaller salary is provided by vote of the legislative council of the province.

(*2*) No minister shall hold office for a longer period than six months, unless he is or becomes an elected member of the local legislature.

(*3*) In relation to transferred subjects, the governor shall be guided by the advice of his ministers, unless he sees sufficient cause to dissent from their opinion, in which case he may require action to be taken otherwise than in accordance with that advice: Provided that rules may be made under the principal Act for the temporary administration of a transferred subject where, in cases of emergency, owing to a vacancy, there is no minister in charge of the subject, by such authority and in such manner as may be prescribed by the rules.

(*4*) The governor of a governor's province may at his discretion appoint from among the non-official members of the local legislature council secretaries, who shall hold office during his pleasure, and discharge such duties in assisting members of the executive council and ministers, as he may assign to them.

There shall be paid to council secretaries so appointed such salary as may be provided by vote of the legislative council.

A council secretary shall cease to hold office if he ceases for more than six months to be a member of the legislative council.

Qualification of members of local executive councils.

5. (*1*) The provision in section forty-seven of the principal Act, that two of the members of the executive council of the governor of a province must have been for at least twelve years in the service of the Crown in India, shall have effect as though "one" were substituted for "two," and the provision in that section that the Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Forces in India, if resident at Calcutta, Madras, or Bombay, shall, during his continuance there, be a member of the governor's council, shall cease to have effect.

(*2*) Provision may be made by rules under the principal Act as to the qualifications to be required in respect of members of the executive council of the governor of a province in any case where such provision is not made by section forty-seven of the principal Act as amended by this section.

Business of governor in council and governor with ministers.

6. (*1*) All orders and other proceedings of the government of a governor's province shall be expressed to be made by the government of the province, and shall be authenticated as the governor may by rule direct, so, however, that provision shall be made by rule for distinguishing orders and other proceedings relating to transferred subjects from other orders and proceedings.

Orders and proceedings authenticated as aforesaid shall not be called into question in any legal proceeding on the ground that they were not duly made by the government of the province.

(*2*) The governor may make rules and orders for the more convenient transaction of business in his executive council and with his ministers, and every order made or act done in accordance with those rules and orders shall be treated as being the order or the act of the government of the province.

The governor may also make rules and orders for regulating the relations between his executive council and his ministers for the purpose of the transaction of the business of the local government:

Provided that any rules or orders made for the purposes specified in this section which are repugnant to the provisions of any rules made under the principal Act as amended by this Act shall, to the extent of that repugnancy, but not otherwise, be void.

Composition of governors' legislative councils.

7. (*1*) There shall be a legislative council in every governor's province, which shall consist of the members of the executive council and of the members nominated or elected as provided by this Act.

The governor shall not be a member of the legislative council, but shall have the right of addressing the council, and may for that purpose require the attendance of its members.

(*2*) The number of members of the governors' legislative councils shall be in accordance with the table set out in the First Schedule to this Act; and of the members of each council not more than twenty per cent. shall be official members, and at least seventy per cent. shall be elected members:

Provided that—

(*a*) subject to the maintenance of the above proportions, rules under the principal Act may provide for increasing the number of members of any council, as specified in that schedule; and.

(*b*) the governor may, for the purposes of any Bill introduced or proposed to be introduced in his legislative council, nominate, in the case of Assam one person, and in the case of other provinces not more than two persons, having special knowledge or experience of the subject-matter of the Bill, and those persons shall, in relation to the Bill, have for the period for which they are nominated all the rights of members of the council, and shall be in addition to the numbers above referred to; and

(*c*) members nominated to the legislative council of the Central Provinces by the governor as the result of elections held in the Assigned Districts of Berar shall be deemed to be elected members of the legislative council of the Central Provinces.

(*3*) The powers of a governor's legislative council may be exercised notwithstanding any vacancy in the council.

(*4*) Subject as aforesaid, provision may be made by rules under the principal Act as to—

(*a*) the term of office of nominated members of governors' legislative councils, and the manner of filling casual vacancies occurring by reason of absence of members from India, inability to attend to duty, death, acceptance of office, resignation duly accepted, or otherwise; and

(*b*) the conditions under which and manner in which persons may be nominated as members of governors' legislative councils; and

(*c*) the qualification of electors, the constitution of constituencies, and the method of election for governors' legislative councils, including the number of members to be elected by communal and other electorates, and any matters incidental or ancillary thereto; and

(*d*) the qualifications for being and for being nominated or elected a member of any such council; and

(*e*) the final decision of doubts or disputes as to the validity of any election; and

(*f*) the manner in which the rules are to be carried into effect:

Provided that rules as to any such matters as aforesaid may provide for delegating to the local government such power as may be specified in the rules of making subsidiary regulations affecting the same matters.

(*5*) Subject to any such rules any person who is a ruler or subject of any State in India may be nominated as a member of a governor's legislative council.

Sessions and duration of governors' legislative councils.

8. (*1*) Every governor's legislative council shall continue for three years from its first meeting:

Provided that—

(*a*) the council may be sooner dissolved by the governor; and

(*b*) the said period may be extended by the governor for a period not exceeding one year, by notification in the official gazette of the province, if in special circumstances (to be specified in the notification) he so think fit; and

(*c*) after the dissolution of the council the governor shall appoint a date not more than six months or, with the sanction of the Secretary of State, not more than nine months from the date of dissolution for the next session of the council.

(*2*) A governor may appoint such times and places for holding the sessions of his legislative council as he thinks fit, and may also, by notification or otherwise, prorogue the council.

(*3*) Any meeting of a governor's legislative council may be adjourned by the person presiding.

(*4*) All questions in a governor's legislative council shall be determined by a majority of votes of the members present other than the person presiding, who shall, however, have and exercise a casting vote in the case of an equality of votes.

Presidents of governors' legislative councils.

9. (*1*) There shall be a president of a governor's legislative council, who shall, until the expiration of a period of four years from the first meeting of the council as constituted under this Act, be a person appointed by the governor, and shall thereafter be a member of the council elected by the council and approved by the governor:

Provided that if at the expiration of such period of four years the council is in session, the president then in office shall continue in office until the end of the current session, and the first election of a president shall take place at the commencement of the next ensuing session.

(*2*) There shall be a deputy-president of a governor's legislative council who shall preside at meetings of the council in the absence of the president, and who shall be a member of the council elected by the council and approved by the governor.

(*3*) The appointed president of a council shall hold office until the date of the first election of a president by the council under this section, but he may resign office by writing under his hand addressed to the governor, or may be removed from office by order of the governor, and any vacancy occurring before the expiration of the term of office of an appointed president shall be filled by a similar appointment for the remainder of such term.

(*4*) An elected president and a deputy-president shall cease to hold office on ceasing to be members of the council. They may resign office by writing under their hands addressed to the governor, and may be removed from office by a vote of the council with the concurrence of the governor.

(*5*) The president and the deputy-president shall receive such salaries as may be determined, in the case of an appointed president, by the governor, and in the case of an elected president or deputy-president, by an Act of the local legislature.

Powers of local legislatures.

10. (*1*) The local legislature of any province has power, subject to the provisions of this Act, to make laws for the peace and good government of the territories for the time being constituting that province.

(*2*) The local legislature of any province may, subject to the provisions of the sub-section next following, repeal or alter as to that province any law made either before or after the commencement of this Act by any authority in British India other than that local legislature,

(3) The local legislature of any province may not, without the previous sanction of the Governor-General, make or take into consideration any law—

(a) imposing or authorising the imposition of any new tax unless the tax is a tax scheduled as exempted from this provision by rules made under the principal Act ; or

(b) affecting the public debt of India, or the customs duties, or any other tax or duty for the time being in force and imposed by the authority of the Governor General in Council for the General purposes of the government of India, provided that the imposition or alteration of a tax scheduled as aforesaid shall not be deemed to affect any such tax or duty ; or

(c) affecting the discipline or maintenance of any part of His Majesty's naval, military, or air forces ; or

(d) affecting the relations of the government with foreign princes or states ; or

(e) regulating any central subject ; or

(f) regulating any provincial subject which has been declared by rules under the principal Act to be, either in whole or in part, subject to legislation by the Indian legislature, in respect of any matter to which such declaration applies ; or

(g) affecting any power expressly reserved to the Governor-General in Council by any law for the time being in force ; or

(h) altering or repealing the provisions of any law which, having been made before the commencement of this Act by any authority in British India other than that local legislature, is declared by rules under the principal Act to be a law which cannot be repealed or altered by the local legislature without previous sanction ; or

(i) altering or repealing any provision of an Act of the Indian legislature made after the commencement of this Act, which by the provisions of that Act may not be repealed or altered by the local legislature without previous sanction :

Provided that an Act or a provision of an Act made by a local legislature, and subsequently assented to by the Governor-General in pursuance of this Act, shall not be deemed invalid by reason only of its requiring the previous sanction of the Governor-General under this Act.

(4) The local legislature of any province has not power to make any law affecting any Act of Parliament.

Business and procedure in governors' legislative councils.

11. (1) Sub-sections (1) and (3) of section eighty of the principal Act (which relate to the classes of business which may be transacted at meetings of local legislative councils) shall cease to apply to a governor's legislative council, but the business and procedure in any such council shall be regulated in accordance with the provisions of this section.

(2) The estimated annual expenditure and revenue of the province shall be laid in the form of a statement before the council in each year, and the proposals of the local government for the appropriation of provincial revenues and other moneys in any year shall be submitted to the vote of the council in the form of demands for grants. The council may assent, or refuse its assent, to a demand, or may reduce the amount therein referred to either by a reduction of the whole grant or by the omission or reduction of any of the items of expenditure of which the grant is composed :

Provided that—

(a) the local government shall have power, in relation to any such demand, to act as if it had been assented to, notwithstanding the withholding

of such assent or the reduction of the amount therein referred to, if the demand relates to a reserved subject, and the governor certifies that the expenditure provided for by the demand is essential to the discharge of his responsibility for the subject; and

(*b*) the governor shall have power in cases of emergency to authorise such expenditure as may be in his opinion necessary for the safety or tranquillity of the province, or for the carrying on of any department; and

(*c*) no proposal for the appropriation of any such revenues or other moneys for any purpose shall be made except on the recommendation of the governor, communicated to the council.

(*3*) Nothing in the foregoing sub-section shall require proposals to be submitted to the council relating to the following heads of expenditure:

(*i*) contributions payable by the local government to the Governor-General in Council; and

(*ii*) interest and sinking fund charges on loans; and

(*iii*) expenditure of which the amount is prescribed by or under any law; and

(*iv*) salaries and pensions of persons appointed by or with the approval of His Majesty or by the Secretary of State in Council; and

(*v*) salaries of judges of the High Court of the province and of the Advocate-General.

If any question arises whether any proposed appropriation of moneys does or does not relate to the above heads of expenditure, the decision of the governor shall be final.

(*4*) Where any Bill has been introduced or is proposed to be introduced, or any amendment to a Bill is moved or proposed to be moved, the governor may certify that the Bill or any clause of it or the amendment affects the safety or tranquillity of his province or any part of it or of another province, and may direct that no proceedings or no further proceedings shall be taken by the council in relation to the Bill, clause or amendment, and effect shall be given to any such direction.

(*5*) Provision may be made by rules under the principal Act for the purpose of carrying into effect the foregoing provisions of this section and for regulating the course of business in the council, and as to the persons to preside over meetings thereof in the absence of the president and deputy-president, and the preservation of order at meetings; and the rules may provide for the number of members required to constitute a quorum, and for prohibiting or regulating the asking of questions on and the discussion of any subject specified in the rules.

(*6*) Standing orders may be made providing for the conduct of business and the procedure to be followed in the council, in so far as these matters are not provided for by rules made under the principal Act. The first standing orders shall be made by the governor in council, but may, subject to the assent of the governor, be altered by the local legislatures. Any standing order made as aforesaid which is repugnant to the provisions of any rules made under the principal Act, shall, to the extent of that repugnancy but not otherwise, be void.

(*7*) Subject to the rules and standing orders affecting the council, there shall be freedom of speech in the governors' legislative councils. No person shall be liable to any proceedings in any court by reason of his speech or vote in any such council or by reason of anything contained in any official report of the proceedings of any such council.

Return and reservation of Bills.

12. (*1*) Where a Bill has been passed by a local legislative council the governor, lieutenant-governor or chief commissioner may, instead of declaring that he assents to or withholds his assent from the Bill, return the Bill to the council for recon-

sideration, either in whole or in part, together with any amendments which he may recommend, or, in cases precribed by rules under the principal Act may, and if the rules so require shall, reserve the Bill for the consideration of the Governor-General.

(2) Where a Bill is reserved for the consideration of the Governor-General, the following provisions shall apply :—

(a) The governor, lieutenant-governor or chief commissioner may, at any time within six months from the date of the reservation of the Bill with the consent of the Governor-General, return the Bill for further consideration by the council with a recommendation that the council shall consider amendments thereto :

(b) After any Bill so returned has been further considered by the council, together with any recommendations made by the governor, lieutenant-governor or chief commissioner relating thereto, the Bill, if re-affirmed with or without amendment, may be again presented to the governor, lieutenant-governor, or chief commissioner :

(c) Any Bill reserved for the consideration of the Governor-General shall, if assented to by the Governor-General within a period of six months from the date of such reservation, become law on due publication of such assent, in the same way as a Bill assented to by the governor, lieutenant-governor or chief commissioner but, if not assented to by the Governor-General within such period of six months, shall lapse and be of no effect unless before the expiration of that period either—

(i) the Bill has been returned by the governor, lieutenant-governor or chief commissioner, for further consideration by the council ; or

(ii) in the case of the council not being in session, a notification has been published of an intention so to return the Bill at the commencement of the next session.

(3) The Governor-General may (except where the Bill has been reserved for his consideration), instead of assenting to or withholding his assent from any Act passed by a local legislature, declare, that he reserves the Act for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure thereon, and in such case the Act shall not have validity until His Majesty in Council has signified his assent and his assent has been notified by the Governor-General.

Provision for case of failure to pass legislation in governors' legislative councils.

13. (1) Where a governor's legislative council has refused leave to introduce, or has failed to pass in a form recommended by the governor, any Bill relating to a reserved subject the governor may certify that the passage of the Bill is essential for the discharge of his responsibility for the subject, and thereupon the Bill shall, notwithstanding that the council have not consented thereto, be deemed to have passed, and shall, on signature by the governor, become an Act of the local legislature in the form of the Bill as originally introduced or proposed to be introduced in the council or (as the case may be) in the form recommended to the council by the governor.

(2) Every such Act shall be expressed to be made by the governor, and the governor shall forthwith send an authentic copy thereof to the Governor-General, who shall reserve the Act for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure, and upon the signification of such assent by His Majesty in Council, and the notification thereof by the Governor-General, the Act shall have the same force and effect as an Act passed by the local legislature and duly assented to :

Provided that where, in the opinion of the Governor-General a state of emergency exists which justifies such action, he may, instead of reserving such Act,

signify his assent thereto, and thereupon the Act shall have such force and effect as aforesaid, subject however to disallowance by His Majesty in Council.

(3) An Act made under this section shall, as soon as practicable after being made, be laid before each House of Parliament, and an Act which is required to be presented for His Majesty's assent shall not be so presented until copies thereof have been laid before each House of Parliament for not less than eight days on which that House has sat.

Vacation of seats in local legislative councils.

14. An official shall not be qualified for election as a member of a local legislative council, and if any non-official member of a local legislative council, whether elected or nominated, accepts any office in the service of the Crown in India, his seat on the council shall become vacant:

Provided that for the purposes of this provision a minister shall not be deemed to be an official and a person shall not be deemed to accept office on appointment as a minister.

Constitution of new provinces, etc., and provision as to backward tracts.

15. (1) The Governor-General in Council may, after obtaining an expression of opinion from the local government and the local legislature affected, by notification, with the sanction of His Majesty previously signified by the Secretary of State in Council, constitute a new governor's province, or place part of a governor's province under the administration of a deputy-governor to be appointed by the Governor-General, and may in any such case apply, with such modifications as appear necessary or desirable, all or any of the provisions of the principal Act or this Act relating to governors' provinces, or provinces under a lieutenant-governor or chief commissioner, to any such new province or part of a province.

(2) The Governor-General in Council may declare any territory in British India to be a "backward tract," and may, by notification, with such sanction as aforesaid, direct that the principal Act and this Act shall apply to that territory subject to such exceptions and modifications as may be prescribed in the notification. Where the Governor-General in Council has, by notification, directed as aforesaid, he may, by the same or subsequent notification, direct that any Act of the Indian legislature shall not apply to the territory in question or any part thereof, or shall apply to the territory or any part thereof subject to such exceptions or modifications as the Governor-General thinks fit, or may authorise the governor in council to give similar directions as respects any Act of the local legislature.

Saving.

16. (1) The validity of any order made or action taken after the commencement of this Act by the Governor-General in Council or by a local government which would have been within the powers of the Governor-General in Council or of such local government if this Act had not been passed, shall not be open to question in any legal proceedings on the ground that by reason of any provision of this Act or of any rule made by virtue of any such provision such order or action has ceased to be within the powers of the Governor-General in Council or of the government concerned.

(2) Nothing in this Act, or in any rule made thereunder, shall be construed as diminishing in any respect the powers of the Indian legislature as laid down in section sixty-five of the principal Act, and the validity of any Act of the Indian legislature or any local legislature shall not be open to question in any legal proceedings on the ground that the Act affects a provincial subject or a central subject as the case may be, and the validity of any Act made by the governor of a province shall not be so open to question on the ground that it does not relate to a reserved subject.

(3) The validity of any order made or action taken by a governor in council, or by a governor acting with his ministers, shall not be open to question in any legal proceedings on the ground that such order or action relates or does not relate to a transferred subject, or relates to a transferred subject of which the minister is not in charge.

PART II.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

Indian legislature.

17. Subject to the provisions of this Act, the Indian legislature shall consist of the Governor-General and two chambers, namely the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly.

Except as otherwise provided by or under this Act a Bill shall not be deemed to have been passed by the Indian legislature unless it has been agreed to by both chambers, either without amendment or with such amendments only as may be agreed to by both chambers.

Council of State.

18. (1) The Council of State shall consist of not more than sixty members nominated or elected in accordance with rules made under the principal Act, of whom not more than twenty shall be official members.

(2) The Governor-General shall have power to appoint, from among the members of the Council of State, a president and other persons to preside in such circumstances as he may direct.

(3) The Governor-General shall have the right of addressing the Council of State, and may for that purpose require the attendance of its members.

Legislative Assembly.

19. (1) The Legislative Assembly shall consist of members nominated or elected in accordance with rules made under the principal Act.

(2) The total number of members of the Legislative Assembly shall be one hundred and forty. The number of non-elected members shall be forty, of whom twenty-six shall be official members. The number of elected members shall be one hundred:

Provided that rules made under the principal Act may provide for increasing the number of members of the Legislative Assembly as fixed by this section, and may vary the proportion which the classes of members bear one to another, so, however, that at least five-sevenths of the members of the Legislative Assembly shall be elected members, at least one-third of the other members shall be non-official members.

(3) The Governor-General shall have the right of addressing the Legislative Assembly, and may for that purpose require the attendance of its members.

President of Legislative Assembly.

20. (1) There shall be a president of the Legislative Assembly, who shall, until the expiration of four years from the first meeting thereof, be a person appointed by the Governor-General and shall thereafter be a member of the Assembly elected by the Assembly and approved by the Governor-General:

Provided that, if at the expiration of such period of four years the Assembly is in session, the president then in office shall continue in office until the end of the current session, and the first election of a president shall take place at the commencement of the ensuing session.

(2) There shall be a deputy-president of the Legislative Assembly, who shall preside at meetings of the Assembly in the absence of the president, and who shall be a member of the Assembly elected by the Assembly and approved by the Governor-General.

(3) The appointed president shall hold office until the date of the election of a president under this section, but he may resign his office by writing under his hand addressed to the Governor-General, or may be removed from office by order of the Governor-General, and any vacancy occurring before the expiration of his term of office shall be filled by a similar appointment for the remainder of such term.

(4) An elected president and a deputy-president shall cease to hold office if they cease to be members of the Assembly. They may resign office by writing under their hands addressed to the Governor-General and may be removed from office by a vote of the Assembly with the concurrence of the Governor-General.

(5) A president and deputy-president shall receive such salaries as may be determined, in the case of an appointed president by the Governor-General, and in the case of an elected president and a deputy-president by Act of the Indian legislature.

Duration and sessions of Legislative Assembly and Council of State.

21. (1) Every Council of State shall continue for five years, and every Legislative Assembly for three years, from its first meeting:

Provided that—

(a) either chamber of the legislature may be sooner dissolved by the Governor-General; and

(b) any such period may be extended by the Governor-General if in special circumstances he so thinks fit; and

(c) after the dissolution of either chamber the Governor-General shall appoint a date not more than six months, or, with the sanction of the Secretary of State not more than nine months after the date of dissolution for the next session of that chamber.

(2) The Governor-General may appoint such times and places for holding the sessions of either chamber of the Indian legislature as he thinks fit, and may also from time to time, by notification or otherwise, prorogue such sessions.

(3) Any meeting of either chamber of the Indian legislature may be adjourned by the person presiding.

(4) All questions in either chamber shall be determined by a majority of votes of members present other than the presiding member, who shall, however, have and exercise a casting vote in the case of an equality of votes.

(5) The powers of either chamber of the Indian legislature may be exercised notwithstanding any vacancy in the chamber.

Membership of both chambers.

22. (1) An official shall not be qualified for election as a member of either chamber of the Indian legislature, and, if any non-official member of either chamber accepts office in the service of the Crown in India, his seat in that chamber shall become vacant.

(2) If an elected member of either chamber of the Indian legislature becomes a member of the other chamber, his seat in such first-mentioned chamber shall thereupon become vacant.

(3) If any person is elected a member of both chambers of the Indian legislature, he shall, before he takes his seat in either chamber, signify in writing the chamber of which he desires to be a member, and thereupon his seat in the other chamber shall become vacant.

(4) Every member of the Governor-General's Executive Council shall be nominated as a member of one chamber of the Indian legislature, and shall have the right of attending in and addressing the other chamber, but shall not be a member of both chambers.

Supplementary provisions as to composition of Legislative Assembly and Council of State.

23. (*1*) Subject to the provisions of this Act, provision may be made by rules under the principal Act as to—

(*a*) the term of office of nominated members of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly, and the manner of filling casual vacancies occurring by reason of absence of members from India, inability to attend to duty, death, acceptance of office, or resignation duly accepted, or otherwise; and

(*b*) the conditions under which and the manner in which persons may be nominated as members of the Council of State or the Legislative Assembly; and

(*c*) the qualification of electors, the constitution of constituencies, and the method of election for the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly (including the number of members to be elected by communal and other electorates) and any matters incidental or ancillary thereto; and

(*d*) the qualifications for being or for being nominated or elected as members of the Council of State or the Legislative Assembly; and

(*e*) the final decision of doubts or disputes as to the validity of an election; and

(*f*) the manner in which the rules are to be carried into effect.

(*2*) Subject to any such rules, any person who is a ruler or subject of any State in India may be nominated as a member of the Council of State or the Legislative Assembly.

Business and proceedings in Indian legislature.

24. (*1*) Sub-sections (*2*) and (*3*) of section sixty-seven of the principal Act (which relate to the classes of business which may be transacted by the Indian legislative council) shall cease to have effect.

(*2*) Provision may be made by rules under the principal Act for regulating the course of business and the preservation of order in the chambers of the Indian legislature, and as to the persons to preside at the meetings of the Legislative Assembly in the absence of the president and the deputy-president; and the rules may provide for the number of members required to constitute a quorum, and for prohibiting or regulating the asking of questions on, and the discussion of, any subject specified in the rules.

(*3*) If any Bill which has been passed by one chamber is not, within six months after the passage of the Bill by that chamber, passed by the other chamber either without amendments or with such amendments as may be agreed to by the two chambers, the Governor-General may in his discretion refer the matter for decision to a joint sitting of both chambers: Provided that standing orders made under this section may provide for meetings of members of both chambers appointed for the purpose, in order to discuss any difference of opinion which has arisen between the two chambers.

(*4*) Without prejudice to the powers of the Governor-General under section sixty-eight of the principal Act, the Governor-General may, where a Bill has been passed by both chambers of the Indian legislature, return the Bill for reconsideration by either chamber.

(*5*) Rules made for the purpose of this section may contain such general and supplemental provisions as appear necessary for the purpose of giving full effect to this section.

(*6*) Standing orders may be made providing for the conduct of business and the procedure to be followed in either chamber of the Indian legislature in so far

as these matters are not provided for by rules made under the principal Act. The first standing orders shall be made by the Governor-General in Council, but may, with the consent of the Governor-General, be altered by the chamber to which they relate.

Any standing order made as aforesaid which is repugnant to the provisions of any rules made under the principal Act shall, to the extent of that repugnancy but not otherwise, be void.

(7) Subject to the rules and standing orders affecting the chamber, there shall be freedom of speech in both chambers of the Indian legislature. No person shall be liable to any proceedings in any court by reason of his speech or vote in either chamber, or by reason of anything contained in any official report of the proceedings of either chamber.

Indian budget.

25. (1) The estimated annual expenditure and revenue of the Governor-General in Council shall be laid in the form of a statement before both chambers of the Indian legislature in each year.

(2) No proposal for the appropriation of any revenue or moneys for any purpose shall be made except on the recommendation of the Governor-General.

(3) The proposals of the Governor-General in Council for the appropriation of revenue or moneys relating to the following heads of expenditure shall not be submitted to the vote of the legislative assembly, nor shall they be open to discussion by either chamber at the time when the annual statement is under consideration, unless the Governor-General otherwise directs—

(i) interest and sinking fund charges on loans ; and

(ii) expenditure of which the amount is prescribed by or under any law ; and

(iii) salaries and pensions of persons appointed by or with the approval of His Majesty or by the Secretary of State in Council ; and

(iv) salaries of chief commissioners and judicial commissioners ; and

(v) expenditure classified by the order of the Governor-General in Council as—

(a) ecclesiastical ;

(b) political ;

(c) defence.

(4) If any question arises whether any proposed appropriation of revenue of moneys does or does not relate to the above heads, the decision of the Governor-General on the question shall be final.

(5) The proposals of the Governor-General in Council for the appropriation of revenue or moneys relating to heads of expenditure not specified in the above heads shall be submitted to the vote of the legislative assembly in the form of demands for grants.

(6) The legislative assembly may assent or refuse its assent to any demand or may reduce the amount referred to in any demand by a reduction of the whole grant.

(7) The demands as voted by the legislative assembly shall be submitted to the Governor-General in Council, who shall, if he declares that he is satisfied that any demand which has been refused by the legislative assembly is essential to the discharge of his responsibilities, act as if it had been assented to, notwithstanding the withholding of such assent or the reduction of the amount therein referred to, by the legislative Assembly.

(8) Notwithstanding anything in this section the Governor-General shall have power, in cases of emergency, to authorise such expenditure as may, in his opinion, be necessary for the safety or tranquillity of British India or any part thereof.

Provision for case of failure to pass legislation.

26. (*1*) Where either chamber of the Indian legislature refuses leave to introduce or fails to pass in a form recommended by the Governor-General, any Bill, the Governor-General may certify that the passage of the Bill is essential for the safety, tranquillity or interests of British India or any part thereof, and thereupon—

(*a*) if the Bill has already been passed by the other chamber, the Bill shall, on signature by the Governor-General, notwithstanding that it has not been consented to by both chambers, forthwith become an Act of the Indian legislature in the form of the Bill as originally introduced or proposed to be introduced in the Indian legislature, or (as the case may be) in the form recommended by the Governor-General; and

(*b*) if the Bill has not already been so passed, the Bill shall be laid before the other chamber, and, if consented to by that chamber in the form recommended by the Governor-General, shall become an Act as aforesaid on the signification of the Governor-General's assent, or, if not so consented to, shall, on signature by the Governor-General, become an Act as aforesaid.

(*2*) Every such Act shall be expressed to be made by the Governor-General and shall, as soon as practicable after being made, be laid before both Houses of Parliament, and shall not have effect until it has received His Majesty's assent, and shall not be presented for His Majesty's assent until copies thereof have been laid before each House of Parliament for not less than eight days on which that House has sat; and upon the signification of such assent by His Majesty in Council and the notification thereof by the Governor-General, the Act shall have the same force and effect as an Act passed by the Indian legislature and duly assented to:

Provided that, where in the opinion of the Governor-General a state of emergency exists which justifies such action, the Governor-General may direct that any such Act shall come into operation forthwith, and thereupon the Act shall have such force and effect as aforesaid, subject, however, to disallowance by His Majesty in Council.

Supplemental provisions as to powers of Indian legislature.

27. (*1*) In addition to the measures referred to in sub-section (*2*) of section sixty-seven of the principal Act, as requiring the previous sanction of the Governor-General, it shall not be lawful without such previous sanction to introduce at any meeting of either chamber of the Indian legislature any measure—

(*a*) regulating any provincial subject, or any part of a provincial subject, which has not been declared by rules under the principal Act to be subject to legislation by the Indian legislature;

(*b*) repealing or amending any Act of a local legislature;

(*c*) repealing or amending any Act or ordinance made by the Governor-General.

(*2*) Where in either chamber of the Indian legislature any Bill has been introduced, or is proposed to be introduced, or any amendment to a Bill is moved, or proposed to be moved, the Governor-General may certify that the Bill, or any clause of it, or the amendment, affects the safety or tranquillity of British India, or any part thereof, and may direct that no proceedings, or that no further proceedings, shall be taken by the chamber in relation to the Bill, clause, or amendment, and effect shall be given to such direction.

Composition of Governor-General's executive council.

28. (*1*) The provision in section thirty-six of the principal Act, imposing a limit on the number of members of the Governor-General's executive council, shall cease to have effect.

(2) The provision in section thirty-six of the principal Act as to the qualification of members of the council shall have effect as though the words "at the time of their appointment" were omitted, and as though after the word "Scotland" there were inserted the words "or a pleader of the High Court" and as though "ten years" were substituted for "five years."

(3) Provision may be made by rules under the principal Act as to the qualifications to be required in respect of members of the Governor-General's executive council, in any case where such provision is not made by section thirty-six of the principal Act as amended by this section.

(4) Sub-section (2) of section thirty-seven of the principal Act (which provides that when and so long as the Governor-General's executive council assembles in a province having a governor, the governor shall be an extraordinary member of the council) shall cease to have effect.

Appointment of council secretaries.

29. (1) The Governor-General may at his discretion appoint, from among the members of the Legislative Assembly, council secretaries who shall hold office during his pleasure and discharge such duties in assisting the members of his executive council as he may assign to them.

(2) There shall be paid to council secretaries so appointed such salary as may be provided by the Indian legislature.

(3) A council secretary shall cease to hold office if he ceases for more than six months to be a member of the Legislative Assembly.

PART III.

Secretary of State in Council.

Payment of salary of Secretary of State, etc., out of moneys provided by Parliament.

30. The salary of the Secretary of State, the salaries of his under-secretaries, and any other expenses of his department may, notwithstanding anything in the principal Act, instead of being paid out of the revenues of India, be paid out of moneys provided by Parliament, and the salary of the Secretary of State shall be so paid.

Council of India.

31. The following amendments shall be made in section three of the principal Act in relation to the composition of the Council of India, the qualification, term of office, and remuneration of its members :—

(1) The provisions of sub-section (1) shall have effect as though "eight" and "twelve" were substituted for "ten" and "fourteen" respectively, as the minimum and maximum number of members, provided that the council as constituted at the time of the passing of this Act shall not be affected by this provision, but no fresh appointment or re-appointment thereto shall be made in excess of the maximum prescribed by this provision.

(2) The provisions of sub-section (3) shall have effect as if "one-half" were substituted for "nine" and "India" were substituted for "British India."

(3) In sub-section (4) "five years" shall be substituted for "seven years" as the term of office of members of the council, provided that the tenure of office of any person who is a member of the council at the time of the passing of this Act shall not be affected by this provision.

(4) The provisions of sub-section (3) shall cease to have effect and in lieu thereof the following provisions shall be inserted:

"There shall be paid to each member of the Council of India the annual salary of twelve hundred pounds: provided that any member of the council who was at the time of his appointment domiciled in India shall receive, in addition to the salary hereby provided, an annual subsistence allowance of six hundred pounds.

Such salaries and allowances may be paid out of the revenues of India or out of moneys provided by Parliament."

(5) Notwithstanding anything in any Act or rules, where any person in the service of the Crown in India is appointed a member of the council before completion of the period of such service required to entitle him to a pension or annuity, his service as such member shall, for the purpose of any pension or annuity which would be payable to him on completion of such period, be reckoned as service under the Crown in India whilst resident in India.

Further provisions as to Council of India.

32. (1) The provision in section six of the principal Act which prescribes the quorum for meetings of the Council of India shall cease to have effect, and the Secretary of State shall provide for a quorum by directions to be issued in this behalf.

(2) The provision in section eight of the principal Act relating to meetings of the Council of India shall have effect as though "month" were substituted for "week."

(3) Section ten of the principal Act shall have effect as though the words "all business of the council or committees thereof is to be transacted" were omitted, and the words "the business of the Secretary of State in Council or the Council of India shall be transacted, and any order made or act done in accordance with such direction shall, subject to the provisions of this Act, be treated as being an order of the Secretary of State in Council" were inserted in lieu thereof.

Relaxation of control of Secretary of State.

33. The Secretary of State in Council may, notwithstanding anything in the principal Act, by rule regulate and restrict the exercise of the powers of superintendence, direction, and control, vested in the Secretary of State and the Secretary of State in Council, by the Principal Act, or otherwise, in such manner as may appear necessary or expedient in order to give effect to the purposes of this Act.

Before any rules are made under this section relating to subjects other than transferred subjects, the rules proposed to be made shall be laid in draft before both Houses of Parliament, and such rules shall not be made unless both Houses by resolution approve the draft either without modification or addition, or with modifications or additions to which both Houses agree, but upon such approval being given the Secretary of State in Council may make such rules in the form in which they have been approved, and such rules on being so made shall be of full force and effect.

Any rules relating to transferred subjects made under this section shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament as soon as may be after they are made, and, if an Address is presented to His Majesty by either House of Parliament within the next thirty days on which that House has sat after the rules are laid before it praying that the rules or any of them may be annulled, His Majesty in Council may annul the rules or any of them, and those rules shall thenceforth be void, but without prejudice to the validity of anything previously done thereunder.

Correspondence between Secretary of State and India.

34. So much of section five of the principal Act as relates to orders and communications sent to India from the United Kingdom and to orders made in the United Kingdom, and sections eleven, twelve, thirteen and fourteen of the principal Act, shall cease to have effect, and the procedure for the sending of orders and communications to India and in general for correspondence between the Secretary of State and the Governor-General in Council or any local government shall be such as may be prescribed by order of the Secretary of State in Council.

High Commissioner for India.

35. His Majesty may by Order in Council make provision for the appointment of a High Commissioner for India in the United Kingdom, and for the pay, pension, powers, duties, and conditions of employment of the High Commissioner and of his assistants; and the Order may further provide for delegating to the High Commissioner any of the powers previously exercised by the Secretary of State or the Secretary of State in Council whether under the principal Act or otherwise in relation to making contracts, and may prescribe the conditions under which he shall act on behalf of the Governor-General in Council or any local government.

PART IV.

The Civil Services in India.

The civil services in India.

36. (*1*) Subject to the provisions of the principal Act and of rules made thereunder, every person in the civil service of the Crown in India holds office during His Majesty's pleasure, and may be employed in any manner required by a proper authority within the scope of his duty, but no person in that service may be dismissed by any authority subordinate to that by which he was appointed, and the Secretary of State in Council may (except so far as he may provide by rules to the contrary) reinstate any person in that service who has been dismissed.

If any such person appointed by the Secretary of State in Council thinks himself wronged by an order of an official superior in a governor's province, and on due application made to that superior does not receive the redress to which he may consider himself entitled, he may, without prejudice to any other right of redress, complain to the governor of the province in order to obtain justice, and the governor is hereby directed to examine such complaint and require such action to be taken thereon as may appear to him to be just and equitable.

(*2*) The Secretary of State in Council may make rules for regulating the classification of the civil services in India, the methods of their recruitment, their conditions of service, pay and allowances, and discipline and conduct. Such rules may, to such extent and in respect of such matters as may be prescribed, delegate the power of making rules to the Governor-General in Council or to local governments, or authorise the Indian legislature or local legislatures to make laws regulating the public services:

Provided that every person appointed before the commencement of this Act by the Secretary of State in Council to the civil service of the Crown in India shall retain all his existing or accruing rights, or shall receive such compensation for the loss of any of them as the Secretary of State in Council may consider just and equitable.

(*3*) The right to pensions and the scale and conditions of pensions of all persons in the civil service of the Crown in India appointed by the Secretary of State in Council shall be regulated in accordance with the rules in force at the time of the

passing of this Act. Any such rules may be varied or added to by the Secretary of State in Council and shall have effect as so varied or added to, but any such variation or addition shall not adversely affect the pension of any member of the service appointed before the date thereof.

Nothing in this section or in any rule thereunder shall prejudice the rights to which any person may, or may have, become entitled under the provisions in relation to pensions contained in the East India Annuity Funds Act, 1874.

37 and 38 Vict., c. 12.

(4) For the removal of doubts it is hereby declared that all rules or other provisions in operation at the time of the passing of this Act, whether made by the Secretary of State in Council or by any other authority, relating to the civil service of the Crown in India, were duly made in accordance with the powers in that behalf, and are confirmed, but any such rules or provisions may be revoked, varied, or added to by rules or laws made under this section.

Appointments to the Indian Civil Service.

37. (1) Notwithstanding anything in section ninety-seven of the principal Act the Secretary of State may make appointments to the Indian Civil Service of persons domiciled in India, in accordance with such rules as may be prescribed by the Secretary of State in Council with the concurrence of the majority of votes at a meeting of the Council of India.

Any rules made under this section shall not have force until they have been laid for thirty days before both Houses of Parliament.

5 and 6 Geo. 5. c. 87.

(2) The Indian Civil Service (Temporary Provisions) Act, 1915 (which confers power during the war and for a period of two years thereafter to make appointments to the Indian Civil Service without examination), shall have effect as though "three years" were substituted for "two years."

Public service commission.

38. (1) There shall be established in India a public service commission, consisting of not more than five members, of whom one shall be chairman, appointed by the Secretary of State in Council. Each member shall hold office for five years, and may be re-appointed. No member shall be removed before the expiry of his term of office, except by order of the Secretary of State in Council. The qualifications for appointment, and the pay and pension (if any) attaching to the office of chairman and member, shall be prescribed by rules made by the Secretary of State in Council.

(2) The public service commission shall discharge, in regard to recruitment and control of the public services in India, such functions as may be assigned thereto by rules made by the Secretary of State in Council.

Financial control.

39. (1) An auditor-general in India shall be appointed by the Secretary of State in Council, and shall hold office during His Majesty's pleasure. The Secretary of State in Council shall, by rules, make provision for his pay, powers, duties, and conditions of employment, or for the discharge of his duties in the case of a temporary vacancy or absence from duty.

(2) Subject to any rules made by the Secretary of State in Council, no office may be added to or withdrawn from the public service, and the emoluments of no post may be varied, except after consultation with such finance authority as may be designated in the rules, being an authority of the province or of the Government of India, according as the post is or is not under the control of a local government.

Rules under Part IV.

40. Rules made under this Part of this Act shall not be made except with the concurrence of the majority of votes at a meeting of the Council of India.

PART V.

STATUTORY COMMISSION.

Statutory commission.

41. (*1*) At the expiration of ten years after the passing of this Act the Secretary of State, with the concurrence of both Houses of Parliament, shall submit for the approval of His Majesty the names of persons to act as a commission for the purposes of this section.

(*2*) The persons whose names are so submitted, if approved by His Majesty, shall be a commission for the purpose of inquiring into the working of the system of government, the growth of education, and the development of representative institutions, in British India, and matters connected therewith, and the commission shall report as to whether and to what extent it is desirable to establish the principle of responsible government, or to extend, modify, or restrict the degree of responsible government, then existing therein, including the question whether the establishment of second chambers of the local legislatures is or is not desirable.

(*3*) The commission shall also inquire into and report on any other matter affecting British India and the provinces, which may be referred to the commission by His Majesty.

PART VI.

GENERAL.

Modification of s. 124 of principal Act.

42. Notwithstanding anything in section one hundred and twenty-four of the principal Act, if any member of the Governor-General's executive Council or any member of any local government was at the time of his appointment concerned or engaged in any trade or business, he may, during the term of his office, with the sanction in writing of the Governor-General , or in the case of ministers, of the governor of the province, and in any case subject to such general conditions and restrictions as the Governor-General in Council may prescribe, retain his concern or interest in that trade or business, but shall not, during that term, take part in the direction or management of that trade or business.

Signification of Royal Assent.

43. Any assent or disallowance by His Majesty, which under the principal Act is required to be signified through the Secretary of State in Council, shall as from the passing of this Act be signified by His Majesty in Council.

Power to make rules.

44. (*1*) Where any matter is required to be prescribed or regulated by rules under the principal Act and no special provision is made as to the authority by whom the rules are to be made the rules shall be made by the Governor-General in Council, with the sanction of the Secretary of State in Council, and shall not be subject to repeal or alteration by the Indian legislature or by any local legislature.

(*2*) Any rules made under this Act or under the principal Act may be so framed as to make different provision for different provinces.

(*3*) Any rules to which sub-section (1) of this section applies shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament as soon as may be after they are made, and, if an Address is presented to His Majesty by either House of Parliament within the next thirty days on which that House has sat after the rules are laid before it praying that the rules or any of them may be annulled, His Majesty in Council may annul the rules or any of them, and those rules shall thenceforth be void, but without prejudice to the validity of anything previously done thereunder:

Provided that the Secretary of State may direct that any rules to which this section applies shall be laid in draft before both Houses of Parliament, and in such case the rules shall not be made unless both Houses by resolution approve the draft either without modification or addition, or with modifications or additions to which both Houses agree, but, upon such approval being given, the rules may be made in the form in which they have been approved, and such rules on being so made shall be of full force and effect, and shall not require to be further laid before Parliament.

Amendments of principal Act to carry Act into effect, etc.

45. (*1*) The amendments set out in parts I and II of the Second Schedule to this Act, being amendments to incorporate the provisions of this Act in the principal Act, and further amendments consequential on or arising out of those provisions, shall be made in the principal Act, and any question of interpretation shall be settled by reference to the principal Act as so amended. The provisions of the principal Act specified in Part III of that schedule, being provisions which are obsolete or unnecessary, or which require amendment in detail, are hereby repealed or modified, and shall be dealt with, in the manner shown in the second column of that schedule.

(*2*) Every enactment and word which is directed by the Government of India (Amendment) Act, 1916, or by this section and the Second Schedule to this Act, to be substituted for or added to any portion of the Government of India Act, 1915, shall form part of the Government of India Act, 1915, in the place assigned to it by the Government of India (Amendment) Act, 1916, or that schedule; and the Government of India Act, 1915, and all Acts, including this Act, which refer thereto shall, after the commencement of this Act, be construed as if the said enactment or word had been enacted in the Government of India Act, 1915, in the place so assigned, and, where it is substituted for another enactment or word, had been so enacted in lieu of that enactment or word.

A copy of the Government of India Act, 1915, with the amendments, whether by way of substitution, addition or omission, required by the Government of India (Amendment) Act, 1916, and by this section and the Second Schedule to this Act, shall be prepared and certified by the Clerk of the Parliaments, and deposited with the Rolls of Parliament, and His Majesty's printer shall print, in accordance with the copy so certified, all copies of the Government of India Act, 1915, which are printed after the passing of this Act, and the Government of India Act, 1915, as so amended, may be cited as "The Government of India Act."

Sub-section (*3*) of section eight of the Government of India (Amendment) Act, 1916, is hereby repealed.

Definition of official.

46. In this Act the expressions "official" and "non-official," where used in relation to any person, mean respectively a person who is or is not in the civil or military service of the Crown in India:

Provided that rules under the principal Act may provide for the holders of such offices as may be specified in the rules not being treated for the purposes of the principal Act or this Act, or any of them, as officials.

Short title, commencement, interpretation, and transitory provisions.

47. (*1*) This Act may be cited as the Government of India Act, 1919, and the principal Act, as amended by any Act for the time being in force, may be cited as the Government of India Act.

(*2*) This Act shall come into operation on such date or dates as the Governor-General in Council, with the approval of the Secretary of State in Council, may appoint, and different dates may be appointed for different provisions of this Act, and for different parts of India.

On the dates appointed for the coming into operation of the provisions of this Act as respects any executive or legislative council all the members of the council then in office shall go out of office, but may, if otherwise qualified, be reappointed, renominated or re-elected, as the case may be, in accordance with the provisions of the principal Act as amended by this Act.

(*3*) Any reference in any enactment, whether an Act of Parliament or made by any authority in British India, or in any rules, regulations, or orders made under any such enactment, or in any letters patent or other document, to any enactment repealed by the principal Act, shall for all purposes be construed as references to the principal Act as amended by this Act or to the corresponding provision thereof.

(*4*) Any reference in any enactment in force in India, whether an Act of Parliament or made by any authority in British India, or in any rules, regulations, or orders made under any such enactment, or in any letters patent or other document, to any Indian legislative authority, shall for all purposes be construed as reference to the corresponding authority constituted by the principal Act as amended by this Act.

(*5*) If any difficulty arises as to the first establishment of the Indian legislature or any legislative council after the commencement of this Act or otherwise in first giving effect to the provisions of this Act, the Secretary of State in Council or the Governor-General in Council, as occasion may require, may by order do anything which appears to them necessary for the purpose of removing the difficulty.

SCHEDULES.

* FIRST SCHEDULE.

NUMBER OF MEMBERS OF LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS.

Legislative Council.	Number of Members.
Madras	118
Bombay	111
Bengal	125
United Provinces	118
Punjab	83
Bihar and Orissa	98
Central Provinces	70
Assam	53

† SECOND SCHEDULE.

PART I.

The provisions of this Act set out in the first column of the following table shall be incorporated in the principal Act in the manner shown in the second column of

* Section 7. † Section 54.

that table, subject to the modifications specified in the third column of that table:—

TABLE.

Provision of Act.	Place and Method of Incorporation in the Principal Act.	Modifications.
Section 1 . .	To be inserted as a new section (45A) after s. 45.	"this Act" to be substituted for "the Government of India Act, 1915, ... "principal Act)," for "the principal Act," and for "that Act."
Section 3 (1) .	To be substituted for s. 46 (1).	——
Section 4 . .	To be substituted for s. 52.	"this Act" to be substituted for "the principal Act."
Section 6 . .	To be substituted for s. 49.	"any other rules made under this Act" to be substituted for "any rules made under the principal Act as amended by this Act."
Sections 7, 8, 9 .	To be inserted as new sections (72A, 72B, and 72C), after s. 72.	"this Act" to be substituted for "the principal Act."
Section 10 . .	To be inserted as a new section (80A) after s. 80.	"this Act" to be substituted for "the principal Act;" "the commencement of the Government of India Act, 1919," to be substituted for "the commencement of this Act" and "such first mentioned Act" to be substituted for "that Act" in sub-section (3).
Section 11 . .	To be inserted as a new section (72D) after s. 72C.	The following sub-section to be substituted for sub-section (1):— "(1) The provisions contained in this section shall have effect with respect to business and procedure in governors' legislative councils." "this Act" to be substituted for "the principal Act."
Section 12 . .	To be inserted as a new section (81A) after s. 81.	"this Act" to be substituted for "the principal Act."
Section 13 . .	To be inserted as a new section (72E) after s. 72D.	——
Section 14 . .	To be inserted as a new section (80B) after s. 80A.	The following new section to be inserted at the end thereof:—

Provision of Act.	Place and Method of Incorporation in the Principal Act	Modifications.
		"80c. It shall not be lawful for any member of any local legislative council to introduce, without the previous sanction of the governor, lieutenant-governor or chief commissioner, any measure affecting the public revenues of a province or imposing any charge on those revenues."
Section 15 . .	To be inserted as a new section (52A) after s. 52.	"this Act" to be substituted for "the principal Act or this Act" and for "the principal Act and this Act."
Section 16 (1) and (3).	To be inserted as a new section (52B) after s. 52A.	"the Government of India Act, 1919," to be substituted for "this Act," where those words first occur, and "that Act" to be substituted for "this Act," where those words secondly occur, and "that Act or this Act" to be substituted for "this Act," where those words thirdly occur.
Section 16 (2) .	To be inserted as a new sub-section (2) of s. 84.	"Nothing in the Government of India Act, 1919, or this Act" to be substituted for "Nothing in this Act" and "this Act" to be substituted elsewhere for "the principal Act."
Sections 17-23 inclusive.	To be inserted as new sections in lieu of ss. 63 and 64, and numbered 63, 63A, 63B, 63C, 63D, 63E, and 64.	"this Act" to be substituted for "the principal Act."
Section 24 (2) .	To be inserted as sub-section (1) of section 67 in lieu of the existing sub-section (1)	"this Act" to be substituted for "the principal Act."
Section 24 (3)-(7).	To be inserted as sub-sections (3)-(7) of section 67 in lieu of the existing sub-section(3).	"this Act" to be substituted for "the principal Act."
Sections 25 and 26	To be inserted as new sections (67A and 67B) after s. 67.	——
Section 29 . .	To be inserted as a new section (43A) after s. 43.	——
Section 33 . .	To be inserted as a new section (19A) after s. 19.	"this Act" to be substituted for "the principal Act" and "the Government of India Act, 1919," to be substituted for "this Act."

Provision of Act.	Place and Method of Incorporation in the Principal Act.	Modifications.
Section 34 . .	To be inserted as a new section (11) in lieu of sections 1 to 14 inclusive.	For the words from the beginning of the section down to and including the words "effect and" there shall be substituted the words "Subject to the provisions of this Act."
Section 35 . .	To be inserted as a new section (29A) after s. 29.	"this Act" to be substituted for "the principal Act."
Sections 36, 38, 39, and 40.	To be inserted as new sections (96B, 96C, 96D, and 96E) after section 96A, constituting a new Part (VIIA.) after Part VII.	"this Act" to be substituted for "the principal Act," and "the Government of India Act, 1919," to be substituted for "this Act," except in section 40.
Section 37 (1) .	To be inserted as a new sub-section (6) of s. 97.	"this section" to be substituted for "section ninety-seven of the principal Act," and "any rules made under this sub-section" to be substituted for "any rules made under this section."
Section 41 . .	To be inserted as a new section (84A) after s. 84, constituting a new Part (VIA) after Part VI.	"the Government of India Act, 1919" to be substituted for "this Act."
Section 42 . .	To be inserted as a proviso to s. 124.	"Provided that notwithstanding anything in this Act" to be substituted for "Notwithstanding anything in section one hundred and twenty-four of the principal Act."
Section 44 . .	To be inserted as a new section (129A) at the beginning of Part XII.	"this Act" to be substituted for "the principal Act" and for "this Act or under the principal Act."
Section 46 . .	To be inserted as a new paragraph at the end of s. 134.	"in this Act" to be omitted, and "this Act" to be substituted for "the Principal Act" and for "the principal Act or this Act."
Section 47 (3) and (4).	To be inserted as new paragraphs at the end of s. 130.	"this Act" to be substituted for "the principal Act" and for "the principal Act as amended by this Act."
First Schedule .	To be inserted in lieu of Schedule I.	

PART II.

The provisions of the principal Act specified in the first column of this table shall be amended in the manner shown in the second column.

TABLE.

Section of Act.	Amendment.
2	In sub-section (2) "or rules made thereunder" shall be inserted after "this Act." The following sub-section shall be substituted for sub-section (3):— "(3) The salary of the Secretary of State shall be paid out of moneys provided by Parliament, and the salaries of his under-secretaries and any other expenses of his department may be paid out of the revenues of India or out of moneys provided by Parliament."
3 (1)	"eight" shall be substituted for "ten," and "twelve" shall be substituted for "fourteen," and the following words shall be inserted at the end of the sub-section:— "Provided that the Council as constituted at the time of the passing of the Government of India Act, 1919, shall not be affected by this provision, but no fresh appointment or re-appointment thereto shall be made in excess of the maximum prescribed by this provision."
3 (3)	"one-half" shall be substituted for "nine," and "India" shall be substituted for "British India."
3 (4)	"five years" shall be substituted for "seven years," and the following words shall be inserted at the end of the sub-section:— "Provided that the tenure of office of any person who is a member of the Council at the time of the passing of the Government of India Act, 1919, shall be the same as though that Act had not been passed."
3 (8)	The following sub-sections shall be substituted for this sub-section:— "(8) There shall be paid to each member of the Council of India the annual salary of twelve hundred pounds: Provided that any member of the Council who was at the time of his appointment domiciled in India shall receive, in addition to the salary hereby provided, an annual subsistence allowance of six hundred pounds. Such salaries and allowances may be paid out of the revenues of India or out of moneys provided by Parliament. (9) Notwithstanding anything in any Act or rule, where any person in the service of the Crown in India is appointed a member of the Council before the completion of the period of such service required to entitle him to a pension or annuity, his service as such member shall, for the purpose of any pension or annuity which would have been payable to him on completion of such period be reckoned as service under the Crown in India whilst resident in India."
5	The words of this section from and including the words "but every order" to the end of the section shall be omitted.
6	For "not less than five members are present" there shall be substituted "such number of members are present as may be prescribed by general directions of the Secretary of State."

Section of Act.	Amendment.
8	For "week" there shall be substituted "month."
10	For "all business of the Council or committees thereof is to be transacted" there shall be substituted "the business of the Secretary of State in Council or the Council of India shall be transacted, and any order made or act done in accordance with such direction shall, subject to the provisions of this Act, be treated as being an order of the Secretary of State in Council."
19	The words of this section from the beginning down to and including "Provided that" shall be omitted.
20 (2) (*d*)	After "under this Act" there shall be inserted "except so far as is otherwise provided under this Act."
21	At the beginning of this section there shall be inserted "Subject to the provisions of this Act and rules made thereunder."
27 (9)	After "revenues of India" there shall be inserted "or out of moneys provided by Parliament."
29	In sub-section (1) at the beginning there shall be inserted the words :— "Subject to the provisions of this Act regarding the appointment of a High Commissioner for India."
30	After sub-section (1) the following sub-section shall be inserted :— "(1A) A local Government may on behalf and in the name of the Secretary of State in Council raise money on the security of revenues allocated to it under this Act, and make proper assurances for that purpose, and rules made under this Act may provide for the conditions under which this power shall be exercisable." In sub-section (2) "sub-section (1) of this section" shall be substituted for "this section."
31	"Indian legislature" shall be substituted for "Governor-General in Legislative Council."
33	At the beginning of the section there shall be inserted "Subject to the provisions of this Act and rules made thereunder."
35	This section shall be omitted.
36	"ordinary" in sub-sections (1) and (2) shall be omitted. In sub-section (2) for the words from and including "five or" to the end of the sub-section there shall be substituted "such as His Majesty thinks fit to appoint." In sub-section (3) "at the time of their appointment" shall be omitted, after "Scotland" there shall be inserted "or a pleader of a High Court," and "ten" shall be substituted for "five." In sub-section (4) for "person appointed an ordinary member of the council" there shall be substituted "member of the council (other than the Commander-in-Chief for the time being of His Majesty's forces in India)." At the end of the section the following new sub-section shall be inserted :— "(5) Provision may be made by rules under this Act as to the qualifications to be required in respect of the members of the Governor-General's executive Council in any case where such provision is not made by the foregoing provisions of this section."

Section of Act.	Amendment.
37	The following section shall be substituted for section thirty-seven:— "37. If the Commander-in-Chief for the time being of His Majesty's forces in India is a member of the Governor-General's executive Council he shall, subject to the provisions of this Act, have rank and precedence in the Council next after the Governor-General."
39	In sub-section (2) for "one ordinary member of the council" there shall be substituted "one member of the council (other than the Commander-in-Chief)."
40	At the end of sub-section (1) there shall be inserted—"and when so signed shall not be called into question in any legal proceeding on the ground that they were not duly made by the Governor-General in Council."
42	For "ordinary member" there shall be substituted "member (other than the Commander-in-Chief)."
45	At the beginning of the section there shall be inserted "Subject to the provisions of this Act and rules made thereunder."
46	The following sub-section shall be subsituted for sub-section (2):— "(2) The governors of the said presidencies are appointed by His Majesty by warrant under the Royal Sign Manual, and the governors of the said provinces shall be so appointed after consultation with the Governor-General." In sub-section (3) "the governors' provinces" shall be substituted for "those presidencies" and "province" shall be substituted for "presidency."
47	In sub-section (2) "One at least of them must be a person who at the time of his appointment has been" shall be substituted for "Two at least of them must be persons who at the time of their appointment have been." The following sub-section shall be substituted for sub-section (3):— "(3) Provision may be made by rules under this Act as to the qualifications to be required in respect of members of the executive council of the governor of a province in any case where such provision is not made by the foregoing provisions of this section."
48	"province" shall be substituted for "presidency."
50 (2)	"province" shall be substituted for "presidency."
53 (1)	For the words from the beginning down to "the Punjab and" (inclusive there shall be substituted "The province of," and the words "with or without an executive council" shall be omitted.
57	At the end of the section there shall be inserted "An order made as aforesaid shall not be called into question in any legal proceedings on the ground that it was not duly made by the lieutenant-governor in council"
58	"Assam, the Central Provinces," shall be omitted.
65	For "Governor-General in Legislative Council" there shall be substituted "Indian legislature."

Section of Act.	Amendment.
67	"either chamber of the Indian legislature" shall be substituted for "the council." At the end of sub-section (2) the following shall be inserted— "or any measure— (i) regulating any provincial subject, or any part of a provincial subject, which has not been declared by rules under this Act to be subject to legislation by the Indian legislature; or (ii) repealing or amending any Act of a local legislature; or (iii) repealing or amending any Act or ordinance made by the Governor-General. (2A) Where in either chamber of the Indian legislature any Bill has been introduced, or is proposed to be introduced, or any amendment to a Bill is moved, or proposed to be moved, the Governor-General may certify that the Bill, or any clause of it, or the amendment, affects the safety or tranquillity of British India, or any part thereof, and may direct that no proceedings, or that no further proceedings, shall be taken by the chamber in relation to the Bill, clause, or amendment; and effect shall be given to such direction."
68	"Bill" shall be substituted for "Act" and "a Bill" for "an Act;" "by both chambers of the Indian legislature" shall be substituted for "at a meeting of the Indian Legislative Council," and "whether he was or was not present in council at the passing thereof" shall be omitted. "A Bill passed by both chambers of the Indian legislature shall not become an Act" shall be substituted for "An Act of the Governor-General in Legislative Council has not validity." "in Council" shall be inserted after "His Majesty" and "to the Governor-General through the Secretary of State in Council" shall be omitted.
69	"Indian legislature" shall be substituted for "Governor-General in Legislative Council;" "in Council;" shall be inserted after "His Majesty" and "through the Secretary of State in Council" shall be omitted.
70	This section shall be omitted.
71 (2)	"Indian legislature" shall be substituted for "Governor-General in Legislative Council."
72	"Indian legislature" shall be substituted for "Governor-General in Legislative Council."
73	In sub-section (1) "a governor or of" shall be omitted and "and of members nominated or elected as hereinafter provided" shall be substituted for "with the addition of members nominated or elected in accordance with rules made under this Act." In sub-section (3) "as hereinafter provided" shall be substituted for "in accordance with rules made under this Act." Sub-section (4) shall be omitted.
74	This section shall be omitted.
75	This section shall be omitted.

Section of Act.	Amendment.
76	In sub-section (1) "section" shall be substituted for "Act" and the following proviso shall be substituted for the existing proviso:— "Provided that the number of members so nominated or elected shall not, in the case of the legislative council of a lieutenant-governor, exceed one hundred." In sub-section (2) "Non-officials" shall be substituted for "persons not in the civil or military service of the Crown in India." In sub-section (4) "Indian legislature or the local legislature" shall be substituted for "Governor-General in Legislative Council."
78	The following provision shall be inserted at the beginning of sub-section (1):— "A lieutenant-governor or a chief commissioner who has a legislative council may appoint such times and places for holding the sessions of his legislative council as he thinks fit, and may also, by notification or otherwise, prorogue the council, and any meeting of the legislative council of a lieutenant-governor or a chief commissioner may be adjourned by the person presiding." In sub-section (2) "in accordance with rules made under this Act" shall be omitted. For sub-section (3) the following sub-sections shall be substituted:— "(3) All question at a meeting of the legislative council of a lieutenant-governor or chief commissioner shall be determined by a majority of votes of the members present other than the lieutenant-governor, chief commissioner, or presiding member, who shall, however, have and exercise a casting vote in case of an equality of votes. (4) Subject to rules affecting the council, there shall be freedom of speech in the legislative councils of lieutenant-governors and chief commissioners. No person shall be liable to any proceedings in any court by reason of his speech or vote in those councils, or by reason of anything contained in any official report of the proceedings of those councils."
79	This section shall be omitted.
80	In sub-section (1) after "local legislative council," there shall be inserted "(other than a governor's legislative council)." Sub-section (2) shall be omitted. In sub-section (3) after "local government" there shall be inserted "of a province other than a governor's province," the word "Governor," where it occurs immediately before the word "Lieutenant-Governor," shall be omitted, and "Indian legislature" shall be substituted for "Governor-General in Legislative Council." At the end of the section the following new sub-sections shall be inserted:— "(4) The local Government of any province (other than a governor's province) for which a local legislative council is hereafter constituted under this Act shall, before the first meeting of that council, and with the sanction of the Governor-General in Council, make rules for the conduct of legislative business in that council (including rules for prescribing the mode of promulgation and authentication of laws passed by that council). (5) The local legislature of any such province may, subject to the assent of the lieutenant-governor or chief commissioner, alter the rules for the conduct of legislative business in the local council (including rules prescribing the mode of promulgation and authentication of laws passed by the council) but any alteration so made may be disallowed by the Governor-General in Council, and if so disallowed shall have no effect."

Section of Act.	Amendment.
81	Throughout sub-sections (1) and (2) and in sub-section (3) where it first occurs, for "Act," there shall be substituted "Bill" and in sub-section (1) "by" shall be substituted for "at a meeting of." For "an Act" there shall be substituted "a Bill," and for "has no effect" there shall be substituted "shall not become an Act."
82	For "any such Act" where those words occur for the first and third times, there shall be substituted "an Act," and for those words where they occur for the second time there shall be substituted "the Act." In sub-section (1) after "His Majesty" there shall be inserted "in Council" and the words "through the Secretary of State in Council" shall be omitted.
83	This section shall be omitted.
84	"an Act of the Indian legislature" shall be substituted for "a law made by the Governor-General in Legislative Council," and "non-official members" shall be substituted for "members not holding office under the Crown in India." In paragraph (c) "an Act of" shall be substituted for "a law made by."
86	In sub-section (1) "ordinary" shall be omitted, and after the words "Executive Council" where they first occur there shall be inserted the words "(other than the Commander-in-Chief)."
87	"ordinary" shall be omitted, and after "Governor-General," where it occurs for the second time, there shall be inserted "(other than the Commander-in-Chief)."
89	In sub-section (4) for "ordinary member of the council" there shall be substituted "member of the council (other than the Commander-in-Chief)."
90	In sub-section (1) after "Governor" there shall be inserted "of a presidency." In sub-section (4) "ordinary" shall be omitted, and after: "executive council" there shall be inserted "(other than the Commander-in-Chief)."
92	"a member" shall be substituted for "an ordinary member" and for "any ordinary member," and after "executive council of the Governor-General" there shall be inserted "(other than the Commander-in-Chief)." In sub-section (5) (*a*) "under this Act" shall be omitted.
93 (1)	"either chamber of the Indian legislature" shall be substituted for "the Indian Legislative Council."
95	Before "offices" wherever that word occurs, before "officers," and before "promotions" where it occurs for the second time, there shall be inserted "military."
97	"Section 96 A of this Act" shall be substituted for "the last foregoing section."
110	In sub-section (1) after "Governor or Lieutenant-Governor" there shall be inserted "and a minister appointed under this Act."

Section of Act.	Amendment.
124	In sub-section (4) after "Lieutenant-Governor" where it secondly occurs, there shall be inserted "or being a minister appointed under this Act."
131	"Indian legislature" shall be substituted for "Governor-General in Legislative Council."
134 (4)	The following paragraph shall be substituted for paragraph (4):— "(4) "Local Government" means, in the case of a governor's province, governor in council or the governor acting with ministers (as the case may require), and, in the case of a province other than a governor's province, a lieutenant-governor in council, lieutenant-governor or chief commissioner. "Local legislative council" includes the legislative council in any governor's province, and any other legislative council constituted in accordance with this Act. "Local legislature" means, in the case of a governor's province, the governor and the legislative council of the province, and, in the case of any other province, the lieutenant-governor or chief commissioner in legislative council."
135	The following section shall be substituted for section 135:— "135. This Act may be cited as the Government of India Act."
Second Schedule.	The following Schedule shall be substituted for the Second Schedule:—

SECOND SCHEDULE.

Official Salaries, etc.

Officer.	Maximum Annual Salary.
Governor-General of India . . .	Two hundred and fifty-six thousand rupees.
Governor of Bengal, Madras, Bombay, and the United Provinces.	One hundred and twenty-eight thousand rupees.
Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's forces in India.	One hundred thousand rupees.
Governor of the Punjab and Bihar and Orissa.	One hundred thousand rupees.
Governor of the Central Provinces .	Seventy-two thousand rupees.
Governor of Assam	Sixty-six thousand rupees.
Lieutenant-governor	One hundred thousand rupees.
Member of the Governor-General's executive Council (other than the Commander-in-Chief).	Eighty thousand rupees.
Member of the executive council of the Governor of Bengal, Madras, Bombay, and the United Provinces.	Sixty-four thousand rupees.
Member of the executive council of the Governor of the Punjab and Bihar and Orissa.	Sixty thousand rupees.
Member of the executive council of the Governor of the Central Provinces.	Forty-eight thousand rupees.
Member of the executive council of the Governor of Assam.	Forty-two thousand rupees.

Section of Act.	Amendment.
Third Schedule.	The following Schedule shall be substituted for the Third Schedule* :—

THIRD SCHEDULE.

OFFICES RESERVED TO THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.

A.—Offices under the Governor-General in Council.

1. The offices of secretary, joint secretary, and deputy secretary in every department except the Army, Marine, Education, Foreign, Political, and Public Works Departments: Provided that if the office of secretary or deputy secretary in the Legislative Department is filled from among the members of the Indian Civil Service, then the office of deputy secretary or secretary in that department, as the case may be, need not be so filled.

2. Three offices of Accountants General.

B.—Offices in the provinces which were known in the year 1861 as "Regulation Provinces."

The following offices, namely :—

1. Member of the Board of Revenue.
2. Financial Commissioner.
3. Commissioner of Revenue.
4. Commissioner of Customs.
5. Opium Agent.
6. Secretary in every department except the Public Works or Marine Department.
7. Secretary to the Board of Revenue.
8. District or sessions judge.
9. Additional district or sessions judge.
10. District magistrate.
11. Collector of Revenue or Chief Revenue Officer of a district.

Fifth Schedule.	"Indian legislature" shall be substituted in the heading for "Governor-General in Legislative Council."

* Section 98.

NOTE.—In parts I and II of the Second Schedule to this Act references to any word or expression in any provision of the principal Act or this Act apply, unless the contrary is stated, to that word or expression wherever the word or expression occurs in that provision.

PART III.

Section of Act.	How dealt with.
16	To be omitted.
42	"and signifies his intended absence to the Council" shall be omitted.
45 (2)	To be omitted.
51	"and signifies his intended absence to the Council" and "civil" shall be omitted.
54 (3)	To be omitted.
55 (1)	In paragraph (*b*) after "illness or otherwise" there shall be inserted "and for supplying a vacancy until it is permanently filled"
65	In sub-section (1) (*d*) "airmen" shall be inserted after "soldiers" and "or the Air Force Act" shall be inserted after "the Army Act." In sub-section (2) (i) "the Air Force Act" shall be inserted after "the Army Act"
67	"naval, or air" shall be substituted for "or naval"
73 (2)	To be omitted.
81	In sub-section (1) "whether he was or was not present in Council at the passing of the Act" shall be omitted.
85	The following proviso shall be inserted at the end of sub-section (3):— "Provided that nothing in this sub-section shall apply to the allowances or other forms of profit and advantage which may have been sanctioned for such persons by the Secretary of State in Council."
87	For "subject to the foregoing provisions of this Act as to leave of absence" there shall be substituted "save in the case of absence on special duty or on leave under a medical certificate." After "council of a governor" there shall be inserted "or of a lieutenant-governor."
88	To be omitted.
89	"entitled under a conditional appointment to succeed to the office of Governor-General, or" and "absolutely" shall be omitted, and for "that office" there shall be substituted "the office of Governor-General."
90	In sub-section (1) "conditional or other" shall be omitted. In sub-section (3) for "this Act" there shall be substituted "section eighty-nine of this Act," and "respecting the assumption of the office by a person conditionally appointed to succeed thereto" shall be omitted. In sub-section (4) "conditional or other" shall be omitted.
91	In sub-section (1) "conditional or other" shall be omitted.
92	In sub-section (1) "conditional or other" shall be omitted. In sub-section (3) "then, if any person has been conditionally appointed to succeed to his office and is on the spot, the place of that member shall be supplied by that person, and if no person conditionally appointed to succeed to the office is on the spot" shall be omitted. In sub-section (4) "conditionally or" shall be omitted.

Section of Act.	How dealt with.
115	At the end of sub-section (1) the following shall be inserted :— "His Majesty may also by letters patent make such provision as may be deemed expedient for the exercise of the episcopal functions and ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the bishop during a vacancy of any of the said sees or the absence of the bishop thereof" At the end of sub-section (2) the following shall be inserted :— "and as metropolitan shall have, enjoy, and exercise such ecclesiastical jurisdiction and functions as His Majesty may by letters patent direct. His Majesty may also by letters patent make such provision as may be deemed expedient for the exercise of such jurisdiction and functions during a vacancy of the See of Calcutta or the absence of the bishop."
118	In sub-section (1) "and archdeacons" shall be omitted, and after "letters patent" there shall be inserted "and the archdeacons of those dioceses by their respective diocesan bishops."

APPENDIX V.

BY THE KING-EMPEROR.

Royal Proclamation.

" GEORGE V, by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the seas, King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India. To my Viceroy and Governor-General, to the Princes of Indian States, and to all my subjects in India, of whatsoever race or creed, greeting.

" 1. Another epoch has been reached to-day in the annals of India. I have given my Royal Assent to an Act which will take its place among the great historic measures passed by the Parliament of this Realm for the better government of India and for the greater contentment of her people. The Acts of 1773 and 1784, were designed to establish a regular system of administration and justice under the Honourable East India Company. The Act of 1833 opened the door for Indians to public office and employment. The Act of 1858 transferred the administration from the Company to the Crown and laid the foundations of public life which exist in India to-day. The Act of 1861 sowed the seed of representative institutions, and the seed was quickened into life by the Act of 1909. The Act which has now become law entrusts the elected representatives of the people with a definite share in the Government and points the way to full responsible Government hereafter. If, as I confidently hope, the policy which this Act inaugurates should achieve its purpose, the results will be momentous in the story of human progress; and it is timely and fitting that I should invite you to-day to consider the past and to join me in my hopes of the future.

"2. Ever since the welfare of India was confided to us, it has been held as a sacred trust by Our Royal House and Line. In 1858 Queen Victoria of revered memory solemnly declared herself bound to her Indian subjects by the same obligations of duty as to all her other subjects; and she assured to them religious freedom and the equal and impartial protection of the law. In his message to the Indian people in 1903 my dear father, King Edward VII, announced his determination to maintain unimpaired the same principles of humane and equitable administration. Again in his Proclamation of 1908 he renewed the assurances which had been given 5 years before and surveyed the progress which they had inspired. On my accession to the throne in 1910 I sent a message to the Princes and peoples of India acknowledging their loyalty and homage and promising that the prosperity and happiness of India should always be to me of the highest interest and concern. In the following year I visited India with the Queen-Empress and testified my sympathy for her people and my desire for their well-being.

" 3. While these are the sentiments of affection and devotion by which I and my predecessors have been animated, the Parliament and the people of this Realm and my officers in India have been equally zealous for the moral and material advancement of India. We have endeavoured to give to her people the many blessings which Providence has bestowed upon ourselves. But there is one gift which yet remains and without which the progress of a country cannot be consummated—the right of her people to direct her affairs and safeguard her interests. The defence of India against foreign aggression is a duty of common Imperial interest and pride. The control of her domestic concerns is a burden which India may legitimately aspire to take upon her own shoulders. The burden is too heavy

to be borne in full until time and experience have brought the necessary strength; but opportunity will now be given for experience to grow and, for responsibility to increase with the capacity for its fulfilment.

"4. I have watched with understanding and sympathy the growing desire of my Indian people for representative institutions. Starting from small beginnings this ambition has steadily strengthened its hold upon the intelligence of the country. It has pursued its course along constitutional channels with sincerity and courage. It has survived the discredit which at times and in places lawless men sought to cast upon it by acts of violence committed under the guise of patriotism. It has been stirred to more vigorous life by the ideals for which the British Commonwealth fought in the Great War, and it claims support in the part which India has taken in our common struggles, anxiety and victories. In truth, the desire after political responsibility has its source at the roots of the British connection with India. It has sprung inevitably from the deeper and wider studies of human thought and history which that connection has opened to the Indian people. Without it the work of the British in India would have been incomplete. It was therefore with a wise judgment that the beginnings of representative institutions were laid many years ago. Their scope has been extended stage by stage until there now lies before us a definite step on the road to responsible Government.

"5. With the same sympathy and with redoubled interest I shall watch the progress along this road. The path will not be easy and in the march towards the goal there will be need of perseverance and of mutual forbearance between all sections and races of my people in India. I am confident that those high qualities will be forthcoming. I rely on the new popular assemblies to interpret wisely the wishes of those whom they represent and not to forget the interests of the masses who cannot yet be admitted to franchise. I rely on the leaders of people, the Ministers of the future, to face responsibility and endure misrepresentation, to sacrifice much for the common interest of the State, remembering that true patriotism transcends party and communal boundaries and, while retaining the confidence of the legislatures, to co-operate with my officers for the common good in sinking unessential differences and in maintaining the essential standards of a just and generous government. Equally do I rely upon my officers to respect their new colleagues and to work with them in harmony and kindliness; to assist the people and their representatives in an orderly advance towards free institutions; and to find in these new tasks a fresh opportunity to fulfil, as in the past, their highest purpose of faithful service to my people.

"6. It is my earnest desire at this time that so far as possible any trace of bitterness between my people and those who are responsible for my government should be obliterated. Let those who in their eagerness for political progress have broken the law in the past respect it in the future. Let it become possible for those who are charged with the maintenance of peaceful and orderly government to forget the extravagances which they have had to curb. A new era is opening. Let it begin with a common determination among my people and my officers to work together for a common purpose. I therefore direct my Viceroy to exercise in my name and on my behalf my Royal clemency to political offenders in the fullest measure which in his judgment is compatible with the public safety. I desire him to extend it on this condition to persons who for offences against the State or under any special or emergency legislation are suffering imprisonment or restrictions upon their liberty. I trust that this leniency will be justified by the future conduct of those whom it benefits, and that all my subjects will so demean themselves as to render it unnecessary to enforce the laws for such offences hereafter.

"7. Simultaneously with the new constitutions in British India I have gladly assented to the establishment of a Chamber of Princes. I trust that its counsel may

be fruitful of lasting good to the Princes and the States themselves, may advance the interests which are common to their territories and to British India, and may be to the advantage of the Empire as a whole. I take the occasion again to assure the Princes of India of my determination ever to maintain unimpaired their privileges, rights and dignities.

"8. It is my intention to send my dear son, the Prince of Wales, to India next winter to inaugurate on my behalf the new Chamber of Princes and the new constitutions in British India. May he find mutual good will and confidence prevailing among those on whom will rest the future service of the country, so that success may crown their labours, and progressive enlightenment attend their administration. And, with all my people, I pray to Almighty God that by His Wisdom and under His guidance India may be led to greater prosperity and contentment, and may grow to the fullness of political freedom."

APPENDIX VI.

Resolutions passed at the Moderates' Conference in Calcutta in connection with the Reforms.

The following Resolutions were unanimously passed by the Conference :—

RESOLUTION I.

This Conference begs to convey to His Majesty the King-Emperor its profound homage and sense of deep gratitude for the Proclamation of the 23rd December 1919, which opens a new era in the history of British India by inaugurating the beginnings of responsible Government. By the exercise of his Royal clemency in favour of political prisoners, by his deep sympathy with our political aspirations and by his confidence in our future, His Majesty has ensured an atmosphere of harmony and good-will which is bound to contribute to the successful working of the reforms.

* * * * * *

RESOLUTION IV.

While regretting the omission to introduce some measure of responsibility in the central government this Conference welcomes the Government of India Act of 1919 as the first definite and substantial step towards the progressive realisation of responsible government. This Conference appeals to all sections of the community, European and Indian, officials and non-officials, whole-heartedly to co-operate for the successful working of the Act.

APPENDIX VII.

The following is the full text of the Resolution, as amended, which was passed at the Indian National Congress held at Amritsar in December, 1918 :—

(*a*) That this Conference reiterates its declaration of last year that India is fit for full responsible Government and repudiates all assumptions and assertions to the contrary wherever made.

(*b*) That this Conference adheres to the resolution passed at Delhi Congress regarding constitutional reforms and is of opinion that the Reforms Act is inadequate, unsatisfactory, and disappointing.

(*c*) That this Congress further urges that Parliament should early take steps to establish full responsible Government in India in accordance with the principle of self-determination.

(*d*) Pending such introduction, this Congress trusts that, so far as may be possible, they so work the reforms as to secure an early establishment of full Responsible Government, and this Congress offers thanks to the Right Honourable Mr. E. S. Montagu for his labours in connection with the reforms.

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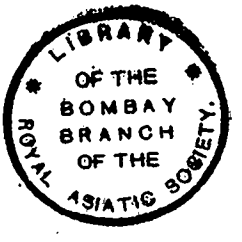

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